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EDITORIAL

Dr. Scott's article brings to the front the problem of the gang and its delinquent potentialities, and helps us to grasp a basic sociological issue. The gang as we see it to-day in the big cities of the world is the evolutionary process in reverse. The process is one of disintegration and regression, with attempts to build up a new non-conforming sub-society with a rival loyalty on an elementary and frequently a transient level.

The gang is in fact an aggregation before it becomes a congregation ; a loosely held together communion in different stages of malcontent, from the fleeting agglutination of purely circumstantial and local needs to a structure which has its own laws and goals. Many such groups, with reasonable degrees of organization, are in reality phantasy structures holding together because the individuals share common aspirations, resentments, or psychopathic trends, which are acted out because the society of which they are temporary members accepts the common illusions. Into this delinquency field which has indeed its local normality and, in the main, adolescent justifications, the social therapist can do useful work of reclamation, but only if the therapist recognises the quasi-normality within the field. Political scientists since Sidgwick have discussed the rights of association. The therapist must recognise that all societies, however large and historically continuous, have sub-cultures with such autonomously created rights. From the larval loyalty of the gang malcontent or delinquent, the social therapist can utilize the stuff for normal social ends.

The suggestion made by Dr. Schmeideberg that delinquent acts are in the nature of perversions serves to remind us that the essential role of psychoanalysis in the investigation of delinquency or, for the matter of that, of any mental abnormality lies in assessing the importance of unconscious (endo-

psychic) factors. The recent tendency of some psycho-analysts and of most medical psychologists to be content with emphasizing the importance of environmental factors during early child life (witness the stress laid by many writers on the etiological importance of the 'broken home' or 'separation anxiety') has obscured the importance of the psycho-analytical approach to delinquency. The emphasis these writers lay on infantile or child environment is largely an extension of sociological methods from the adult to the infantile (familial) sphere. Regarded psycho-analytically the 'broken home' is no more than a precipitating factor. What form of behaviour it will precipitate depends ultimately on unconscious predisposing factors, amongst which the influence of unconscious symbolism is in many cases paramount. This is very clear in the case of fetishism and of course it is a long time since psycho-analysts pointed out the importance of sexual symbolism in determining the choice of objects stolen by compulsive pilferers. The factor of symbolism is also decisive in many cases of arson, strap and pigtail cutting, cushion slashing and the like. To be sure, it is necessary to correct possible exaggerations of this particular element in motivation by assessing the relative importance in any given act of other factors, conscious or unconscious. Neglect of this precaution was no doubt responsible in part for the scepticism with which psycho-analytical interpretations of criminal motivation have been met. On the other hand it serves no useful purpose to discount analytical interpretations by laying undue stress on the (seemingly more natural) influence of infantile environment.

In his preamble to a study of indications for residential treatment of the delinquent child, Dr. Maclay is careful to remind us that the treatment of delinquency is not purely a medical problem, but always a social and finally a legal one. And, as he points out later, the court when considering psychiatric recommendations must also have regard to the claims of society for protection. The importance of this particular social factor can be gathered from the circumstance that the rates of institutionalization are highest in cases of violence and wounding, gang-stealing, recidivism and 'unsatisfactory associations'. Even so, the category of unsatisfactory relationships combines a psychiatric standard, namely, difficulties in making contacts, with a social standard, namely, bad companionship.

A number of clinical and social problems arise from this confusion. With the query, how often are magistrates influenced by psychiatric recommendations, runs the companion problem, how often are psychiatrists influenced in their recommendations by social valuations or penal prejudices? To what extent is the psychiatrist's therapeutic recommendation of compulsory residence governed by his knowledge of the therapeutic facilities

available at any given institution ? Because unless he is satisfied that those facilities are adequate, his psychiatric recommendation is little more than a penal gesture.

Dr. Maclay adds point to this issue when he remarks that there is no means of knowing in the case of those sent to institutions what would have been the outcome had they been allowed to remain at home. From the experimental point of view there is only one answer to this question, namely, to have the courage to experiment. We have not yet ascertained the limits or limitations of ambulant treatment. All we know is that it is possible and can be successful in a large proportion of juvenile delinquents, to say nothing of adult types. The aim of psychiatry, society and the law should be to increase that proportion without being intimidated by possibilities of failure.

Those unfamiliar with Scottish criminal law will be surprised to learn from Mr. Lodge's article that not only 'the legal and judicial systems in Scotland are different from those of England and Wales', but even 'where there are similarities in terminology these are as likely as not to be misleading, at any rate, from a statistical point of view'. Mr. Lodge's painstaking analysis shows that his subject of research is hardly less intricate than that of international criminal statistics. It is almost an understatement to say, with the recent United Nations Survey, that 'various problems met with in the use of criminal statistics have not been solved hitherto'. Mr. Lodge's paper brings them nearer to a solution. It demonstrates, in particular, how little weight can often be attached to apparent similarities or differences between the figures. Take, for example, the category of 'offences relating to the person': between 1938 and 1954 an apparent doubling of the English figures, in Scotland an apparent fall by 50 per cent. Actually, these changes may have been largely due to changes in classification of offences which seem to have produced the result that the figures per 100,000 of population, strikingly different in 1938, are now exactly the same in England and Scotland. A considerable difference still exists for drunkenness convictions where the figure per 100,000 is still almost twice as high in Scotland as in England. How far this is due to differences in police methods and how far to real differences in drunkenness Mr. Lodge does not venture to say. With regard to sentencing policy, too, there are interesting differences, especially in the field of prison sentences where sentences in England and Wales are, on an average, much longer than in Scotland. As Mr. Lodge suggests, the explanation may in part be that in Scotland the Courts of Summary Jurisdiction deal to a larger extent than English Magistrates' Courts with breaking offences. Whether this is due to a more serious character of the offences and offenders brought before English Courts we do not know.

GANGS AND DELINQUENT GROUPS IN LONDON

By PETER SCOTT (LONDON)

Most of the early descriptions of juvenile gangs come from the United States. Jacob Riis (1890) wrote of the numerous antisocial gangs, the plankton of society, to be found at every street corner of the East Side of New York. 'They have their calls, whistles, signs, rally suddenly from no one knows where, and vanish in the alleys, basements, roofs and corridors they know so well. . . . They have their own ideality and a gaudy pinch-beck honour.' Gulick, at about the same time, gives a description which is reminiscent of Mark Twain's stories or perhaps of the actual experience of some who may read this article. 'The manners and customs of the gang are to build shanties or "hunkies", hunt with sling shots, build fires before huts in the woods, cook their squirrels and other game, play Indian, build tree platforms, where they smoke or troop about some leader who may have an old revolver. They find or excavate caves, or perhaps roof them over. . . . The more plucky arrange fights beforehand; rifle unoccupied houses; set ambushes for gangs with which they are at feud; perhaps have secrets and initiations where new boys are triced up by old boys and butted against trees and rocks. When painted for their Indian fights, they may grow so excited as to perhaps rush into the water or into the school-room.' The gang either of village or city 'is composed of these same footloose, prowling, predaceous adolescents who herd and hang together after the manner of the undomesticated male everywhere' (Pank, 1927).

In these and other descriptions can be seen the several basic characteristics of gangs and the purposes which they serve for their members. Thrasher (1927), whose book is the classic on the subject, gives these characteristics—the gang is a structured group whose social order is natural and crevice rather than enacted, whose leaders strive to keep their place, having a strong group loyalty, capable of planned action, having a definite meeting place and territory usually in a transitional area, often a tradition,

initiation procedure, secret signs and an identity which may outlive the membership of its individuals. 'The nuclei of most gangs can be traced back to early boyhood. . . . The gangs grew up on the corner and remained there with remarkable persistence from early boyhood until the members reached their late 20s or early 30s' (Whyte, 1943). An important point is made by Thrasher who points out that the real beginning of the gang is when someone looks upon it with hostility, 'for now it starts to draw itself more closely together'.

Not every gang of course is antisocial; Healy (1915) writes of a 'jolly crowd of buccaneers, provisioned and armed . . . while together they enjoyed democracy and independence'. Healy, incidentally, takes account of another motivation of gangs, the sexual one: 'There can be no doubt that in many instances the influence of one person on another rests on a basis of overt or perhaps even unconscious sex relationship. This is true between persons of the same sex as well as the opposite. . . . The same is true for women or girls.' And again, considering specifically a boys' gang, 'They had gradually initiated one another into the mysteries of sex life and, while they did not ostensibly gather for this, at their meeting places they spent much time in discussing these things, and sometimes mutually engaging in bad sex habits.'

Man is a social animal and for this very reason gangs are perhaps inevitable. Rather along these lines Hall (1904) and Puffer (1912) put forward the recapitulation theory, that in forming gangs the young person is repeating an evolutionary phase and in so doing gains companionship, recognition, status and a sense of belonging, 'the zest and thrill of common purpose', 'the quest for new experience'. We need to know, however, what causes one group to engage in antisocial activities while another does not. There are two main answers to this query. First the sociological one, that a gang once formed reacts to the environment in which it finds itself, absorbing what is vicious from it. 'The gang develops as a response to society. The social group of which the young boy is a member has failed to provide organized and supervised activities adequate to absorb his interests and exhaust his energies' (Thrasher, 1927, p. 251). The standard works, Thrasher's in Chicago, Whyte's in New York, Shaw and McKay's (1931) in Chicago, certainly leave the impression of gangs existing amidst slums, unemployment, racial problems and great social inequality, but as these factors have receded, antisocial group activities have not. Furthermore, workers such as Crane (1952) conclude that pre-adolescent gangs are not the product exclusively of subnormal or borderline environments; they occur where there is no lack of space or of recreational facilities; indeed, these very recreational facilities may provide the focus for the gang. The second

theory turns to factors within the child, and especially as determined by his early experience within the family. A mass of studies contribute to this theory. Miriam van Waters (1927) pointed out that the other gang members are likely to fill psychological needs not met by the individual's own parents. Bromberg (1942) goes further in stating that gangs need to express anti-parental or antisocial tendencies and that their activities are likely to express a reversal of adult social values. Rosenthal (1942) confirmed psycho-analytical theory in finding that spontaneous gangs, formed by children aged 7 to 14, had the function of resolving conflicts arising from intrafamilial tendencies, by breaking the law, thus relieving unconscious guilt feelings and gaining secondary status. Beckham (1933) elaborated the sequence of events, a broken or disturbed home, retardation in school, willingness to join in truancy, and gang induction. Topping (1943) applied to gang boys Alexander's concept of aggressiveness arising from a compensation for a sense of inadequacy or effeminacy, and noted their characteristic dependence on mother and resentment of father. She thought that these boys had experienced sufficient family acceptance to promote socialization but insufficient supervision and influence to build a strong sense of values. Her findings conform with those of Healy and Bronner (1936) and of Hewitt and Jenkins (1946) in seeing these children 'as coming out of the family situation with a weak super-ego structure and ready to identify with the delinquent patterns found among their older siblings or playmates'. These writers thus tend to combine the two theories and the same may be said of an important paper by Wattenberg and Balistreri (1950), who conclude that 'the family picture of the gang boys is less like neglect and more like low tension or easy-goingness. More significant, the way in which the non-gang boys appeared to show evidence of emotional upset due to strong tensions or deprivations at home suggests that the two sets of influence, familial and socio-economic, are not equal in effect but are dynamically related. It looks as though the social forces are limited in their play upon the individuals by the previous effects of the family factors.' Or, as Piaget (1932) wrote, 'If the adult pattern placed before the child is sound, then there is little danger that gang membership will be anything but helpful to the child.' The matter is well summed up by Trenaman (1952): 'The gang may vary from a harmless holiday group to a fanatical secret society exacting lifetime loyalties. Though it usually led to pranks or mischief, and sometimes to serious trouble, it also offered the disgruntled youngster an outlet for his energies, a rudimentary social discipline, a sense of comradeship, and a substitute for a defective home.' All these factors will clearly have to be taken into account in considering how gang antisocial activities can be reduced.

For the moment, however, it would be well to consider the various sorts of groups which have been described. Many terms have been used, play-groups ('gangs in embryo'), righteous gangs, bad gangs, semi-delinquent gangs, cliques, mobs, crowds, clubs, bunches, intimacies (Thrasher's term for the two-boy gang), parties (usually a police term), rings, syndicates, networks. Both boys and girls have their gangs. Thrasher finds girls' gangs everywhere, Burt (1925) finds none. Crane found that two-thirds of a group of thirty women, and four-fifths of a group of ninety men claimed in retrospect to have belonged to gangs; the female gangs were reported as better organized, less predatory and occupied more with socially approved aims. Many gangs or groups have mixed membership or allow girls to participate to some degree. Healy firmly stated that the gang spirit is an age phenomenon; he agreed with Sheldon that predatory organizations are strongest between 11 and 15 years, and held that there is 'a strong tendency to disband in late adolescence so that the gang spirit undoubtedly does reach its maximum intensity somewhere about 14 to 15'. Rosenthal (1942) found that, in spontaneous groups of children, at above the seven-year level self-preservation was the main objective, whilst at about the eleven-year level the children were primarily seeking status. Wolman (1951), studying spontaneous groupings of children and adolescents in Israel, found no correlation between participation in gangs of younger children and social maladjustment; gangs formed later were usually composed of maladjusted individuals, whereas bright and well adjusted adolescents preferred officially recognized organizations. Age, sex, environment and degree of social adjustment clearly have their effect not only on gang formation, but on the type and activity of the gang when formed. The latter factors could usefully be considered according to their degree of diffuseness or organization, and the extent to which their activities are conventional or antisocial.

While we classify gang members they no doubt classify us. According to Dumpson (1952) they think of society as either authorities, hoodlums, or suckers—those, presumably, who are antagonistic and powerful, those who can be exploited, and those who abide by conventional rules, and work!

Mention may now be made of some British findings. Hall (1904) stated that in London the groups were better organized and even more numerous than in America. . . . 'war is often waged between them, weapons are used and murder is not so very infrequent'. Such statements are a useful antidote to the modern scare-mongering of some sections of the Press, which erroneously tend to link up violent crime with an old problem in a new guise—the so-called Teddy Boy.

Figures, since at least 1920, consistently show that the great majority of juvenile crime, *i.e.*, between 8 and 17 years, is committed in company of

others. In that year the Board of Education estimated that 63 per cent. of delinquent boys were 'working in gangs'. In Scotland (1923), again, 63 per cent. were said to be working in 'batches'. Burt's (1925) figures were 11.4 per cent. of his 123 boys, and 0 per cent. of his seventy-four girls, but he has arbitrarily defined a gang as necessarily being of three or four members. In 1930 the London County Council school medical officer reported that 50 per cent. of thefts by boys were in gangs. The annual report for 1951 of the Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis states that 67 per cent. of persons under 21 arrested for crimes were operating in groups. Of this percentage, 91 per cent. of the groups had members all under 21, 72 per cent. all under 17, and 52 per cent. all under 15 years of age. Only 9 per cent. of young persons associated in their crimes with persons over 21, which confirms the clinical impression that, except for some parents who encourage their children to steal (often 'scrounging' fuel) and some receivers of stolen goods, adults rarely use young people as cat's paws or confederates. This 1951 report concludes: 'As usual, nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of the young people in the groups were working in 2s or 3s, 45 per cent. in pairs, 29 per cent. in groups of only 3.' These figures seem very general and can be confirmed from many sources. Carr Saunders, Mannheim and Rhodes (1942) state that 71.6 per cent. of all boy crimes in the London area were gang offences, and 74 per cent. in six typical provincial towns; 'It is obvious that the majority of offences are committed when boys are in company.' Bagot and McClintock (1952) studying children remanded in custody found an increasing tendency to act alone as their age increased; thus 16 per cent. of the 8- to 11-year-olds and one-third of the older boys acted alone. Norwood East and his collaborators (1942), in their notable study of 4,000 adolescent offenders, have a section on 'associates' in which some interesting findings are given; the majority of companions were of an equal age; there was no evidence of a general tendency to graduate from 'lone' offences to 'company' offences, nor *vice versa*. J. B. Mays (1954) gives a vivid and revealing account of the gangs of Liverpool, stressing the social and economic factors.

LONDON GROUPS

From experience with juvenile delinquents over a period of ten years in juvenile courts, remand homes, psychiatric clinics, a residential school and a boys' club, some ideas have been gathered about the sort of groups in which these young people commit offences. Essentially the classification is into three: adolescent street groups, structured gangs, and loosely structured (diffuse) groups. The first (adolescent street groups) are not really much concerned with delinquency, but have been included

here because many people seem to think they are. The members of such groups admittedly sometimes get into trouble, but not usually as members of these groups, which in the great majority of cases bear no more relation to the actual offence than would any youth club or evening class which the individuals happen to attend together. This adolescent street group is left out of the brief statistical analysis for the reason that none of the series studied offended as part of such a group. In short, they look very fearsome, and may behave abominably, but they are not often actually charged with offences.

The diffuse groups seem to fall under three sub-headings: the fleeting, casual groups; the groups of customary friends, and siblings; the loose antisocial groups. In spite of a number of intermediate stages between these groups and in spite of the fact that one group may evolve or degenerate into one of the others, they may possess some descriptive and perhaps clinical value.

ADOLESCENT STREET GROUPS

The uniformity of adolescent behaviour is often overestimated, for every surviving person must pass through this phase, and, carrying his psychological peculiarities with him, will react variously to the new stresses. It is therefore not surprising that all adolescents do not belong to the sort of groups described here, and that the groups vary considerably one from another. Many youths, however, typically between 14 and 18 years of age, gather in the evenings and at week-ends into loosely structured street-groups, of about five to thirty members, perhaps mixed in sex or, more likely, with girls occasionally tolerated. They occupy themselves in strolling along well-lighted thoroughfares, gossiping at street corners and coffee-stalls, or frequenting cafes and dance-halls dressed in characteristic fashion (Scott, 1954). 'Foremost' among the purposes of such groups are self-display and mutual support in the difficult business of extricating themselves from an uncomfortably close emotional dependence at home, into a self-determined existence. When the home carapace is shed the group offers a shelter in which a new skin may harden—a breathing space for the acquisition of confidence. They gain a sense of security from contiguity in the group rather than from real confluence. Their very number seems to protect them from the necessity of making close relationships (especially with girls) for which they are not ready. In so far as the members gradually begin to join the other, recognized groups of the community, and break up to make close relationships with the opposite sex, there is progress. In so far as they take part in aggressive gang-fights (an activity more appropriate to the ages of 8 to 12 years), and break up to commit offences, there is regression. It is

obviously extremely important not to judge all by the few who cannot manage to grow out of this stage. The majority of such street-groups are quite innocuous and, indeed, perhaps necessary and useful. It is by no means always incumbent upon us to go out and work upon them or 'socialize' them.

The more severely disturbed adolescents (those who emerge from the home with marked resentfulness as well as with underlying feelings of inadequacy) are likely to congregate in separate groups whose members may actively seek opportunities of boosting their tender self-regard and of expressing their aggressiveness. Although weapons may be carried for their symbolic and prestige value, they are rarely used. Occasionally one or two individuals may break away from the group to commit offences, but planned crime, as opposed to group rowdiness, is very exceptional. There may be one or, not unusually, more than one, nominal leader, but he or they will have little or no responsibility and their presence or absence scarcely makes any difference to the activity of the group. Indeed it is characteristic of such groups to be averse to the very concept of firm leadership. There is little loyalty, no firm control or persistence of membership, never a den, and no secret activities. In all these respects such groups are quite different from the gang proper. On the other hand, there is usually a territory, some sense of 'we-ness', and a considerable degree of opposition to conventional standards. The following extract from a letter between two lads from such a 'mob' or 'click', as they call themselves, illustrates their inconclusive, poorly organized activities, the blending of different groups, and their need to appear 'big' and tough among themselves.

'... last Saturday we all went down to the A. . . . dance, T. . . . was there with all his mates, C. T. . . . was down there with all his Q. . . . boys, there was a few fights, X. . . . got his head kicked in and we all rushed outside to get the Q. . . . boys, everybody was breaking bottles but there wasn't a big fight, we decided to meet up at the T. . . . D. . . . (public house) on Wednesday, all the Q. . . . boys and all of us, our little click went up there, about 23 of us, and there was nobody up there so we went down D. . . . and then came home.'

The situation has been observed in which a youth, who had belonged to a succession of such adolescent groups for an unusually long time, was gradually abandoned by his maturing mates until finally left with a small group whom he terrorized into supporting him; the group then superficially looked like a gang, but in fact lacked nearly all the real gang qualities. It is very important to diagnose such a group accurately, for it is useless to try and work with such a group and essential to remove the 'leader' as quickly as possible, for he will not be amenable to psychiatric or social work

while he remains at home, and is likely to wreck the efforts of field workers in the area.

GANGS PROPER

In view of the consistency of the literature, it is surprising that delinquent gangs with a leader, definite membership, persistence in time, a den, initiation procedure, and criminal objectives, are so unusual. An obvious possibility is that they are sufficiently clever or well-organized not to get caught, or, if they are caught, that loyalty prevents them disclosing information. These arguments are not strong, for, though delinquent gangs may remain hidden, their depredations would be known to the social workers and police of the area, who state that the existing delinquent gangs are known and that they are few. Further, of those boys who commit offences in groups, and are examined psychiatrically, nearly all disclose precisely what sort of association they had formed, in a manner so detailed and forthright, and so consistently with their colleagues, that it can be determined by a process of exclusion that true delinquent gang-members comparatively rarely come before the juvenile courts.

It is indeed difficult to find good examples of gangs, nor do the few that are found conform with the picture of healthy devilment, adventurousness, pride of leadership or loyal lieutenantcy, that is often painted. Gang-members who come before the courts usually have a gross antisocial character defect and come from homes in which the emotional atmosphere has been obviously disturbed and detrimental.

D. N., aged 14 years, was a determined and experienced delinquent from an extremely emotionally unsatisfactory home. Though both parents were present they rejected the boy through their callous indifference towards him. He had associated over a period of months with two boys from the same locality and of similar age; these two had similar, over-controlling, 'managing' mothers and inadequate fathers. He was found guilty of breaking into an unoccupied house and systematically stealing readily convertible valuables. He was accustomed to meeting his accomplices by arrangement in a definite place. He planned the project, paid the fares to a distant suburb where they went round from house to house asking for 'jobs' until an unoccupied house was found.

One explanation for the rarity of proper delinquent gangs is that, with the ever-decreasing waste sites and vacant lots, the gangs are quickly broken up. The following partnership, together with many of those subsequently described under the heading 'unstructured antisocial' groups, might develop into gangs proper if allowed to continue.

H. ($16\frac{3}{12}$) had excellent school reports and gave a superficially friendly, intelligent impression (I.Q. 100). There was no record of delinquency in his family but an older brother was 'simple', easily influenced, and unfit on this account for army service; a younger brother had given up excellent educational opportunities without adequate reason. H. was unable to make friends, he indulged in childish fantasy of himself doing great things, he loved weapons and guns, and readily associated with delinquent companions. He seemed genuine in saying (quite cheerfully) that he often thought of suicide. He described typical *déjà vu* experiences. He seemed to have an ineffective, dreamy, poorly integrated personality, capable of adjusting comfortably under a cut and dried régime as he had done in an approved school, but not at home. His companion in crime, R. ($15\frac{1}{2}$), was equally abnormal but in a commoner and more understandable manner. He had been sent away from home between 3 and 5 years and never thereafter gained a welcome. He became a restless, talkative, 'unattached' little boy, displaying at the age of 12 delinquent tendencies and wanting to get away from home. When this was arranged he was reported by his foster parents as mischievous, plausible, stubborn, and persistently enuretic. Both these boys had spent 2 years in an approved school but R. had never settled satisfactorily in it. After release R. sought out H. and they were soon found guilty of breaking into a shop together and stealing £30. H. was found armed with a knife and airgun just as he had been before committal to his approved school. H. and R. hardly constitute a gang yet do bear a definite leader-follower relationship to one another, plan their crime to some extent, have a definite antisocial purpose and some loyalty to one another. Their association seems to lie between a gang proper and an unstructured antisocial group.

Firm leadership, which is an absolute necessity for a proper gang, is best raised at this point. Thrasher says that 'gang leaders hold sway like barons of old . . . , and Healy that 'a boy may initiate dozens of others especially if he has experience in courts and correctional schools'. He adds that occasionally he found 'the younger to be the more influential, but always because of superior mental and physical activity'. This superiority according to Dumpson may be in physique, prowess, dash and daring, cleverness and cunning, impetuosity to act and dominate. The psychology of leader and led has also received attention. Topping states that 'Leaders are far more aloof and uncompromising than followers', and Deutschberger (1947) finds them rigid, inflexible, tense and suspicious, while the followers, in submitting to the leader, are relieved of responsibility, and by a denial of the demands of society are relatively relaxed in conscience and free from guilt; the leader's anxiety and conflict is raised and externalized in hostility to society thus apparently tending to perpetuate the antisocial activities of the gang. He found that, in non-antisocial groups, no such stable centre of leadership existed and activities were proposed and executed by various individuals within the group.

The delinquent gangs of this series and of the writer's experience are quite different from those of Thrasher. The leader rarely 'holds sway' (except in the occasional 8- or 9-year-old groups) over more than three henchmen, and Healy's process of initiation is more common in the unstructured groups and is not only carried out by a leader. The aloofness and tension of the leader is appreciable, as illustrated above in the case of H. and R., and the frequently gross accompanying antisocial character defect seems to obliterate the sense of guilt. It will be seen later that the absence of a 'stable centre of leadership' is by no means confined to 'non-antisocial' groups, but is also very obvious in many of the loosely structured groups to be described. The leaders are certainly boys of relatively superior intelligence, much less commonly of superior physique. It is noticeable, however, that a state of gross insecurity, with long-standing behaviour and conduct disorders, does not necessarily incapacitate them from leadership, though it does invariably mean that the followers will be even more handicapped in one way or another.

A 9½-year-old boy was the undoubted leader of a well-established gang which had a name, an initiation procedure involving the recording of members' names in a book, a cleverly chosen den, a highly delinquent purpose in which the leader directed operations and afterwards shared out the spoils. The leader was a very intelligent, active but physically weak boy whose superficial friendliness and charm covered chronic insecurity. He was an habitual bed-wetter and nailbiter, had truanted regularly for many years. He was the illegitimate child of an unstable and sexually promiscuous mother. There had been many changes of residence, two of them necessitated by the step-father's action in 'throwing them out'. When there was a home, quarrels were constant. When held in custody for investigation, he was reported by all who observed him to be helpless and unable to hold his own with other boys. The followers in his gang were all handicapped in some way; either in being much younger or of much lower intelligence; one, though two years older and very much bigger, had a very defective level of intelligence.

In general the degree of emotional disturbance among the followers in this gang, as in the others studied, seemed to vary inversely with intelligence level. This rather suggests that unless they are handicapped in some way they cannot be tolerated by, or will not submit to, the leader, and that the double handicap of low intelligence plus severe emotional disturbance renders a boy unsuitable for gang membership, unless temporarily utilized by the gang as a 'cat's paw'. When held under observation the true leader sinks into obscurity; another member, often the least disturbed, then acts as mouthpiece and is usually mistaken for the leader. It is a regular finding that even the most determined and successful leader of a delinquent gang

can only manage to dominate those who are relatively handicapped. This seems to apply to all age groups.

FLEETING, CASUAL DELINQUENT ASSOCIATIONS

A 13-year-old boy, reluctantly doing an errand for his mother, chanced upon another (from the same school but not well known to him) excitedly showing a bag of coins and relating how he had filched them from a stationary bus at the terminus. A third boy, also from the neighbourhood but not well known to either, joined them. The first and third boys immediately went to the terminus and were caught attempting to repeat the crime. It was impossible for them or for anyone else to decide who was the leader—there wasn't one in the accepted sense of the term. The first boy had attended a child-guidance clinic for behaviour disorders and the third showed evidence of emotional disturbance (chronic truanting and a wide discrepancy between educational attainment and intelligence quotient). Both were considered predisposed by their home environments to delinquency, and of course both had been very much tempted.

The boys in these groups are often between 10 and 13, and tend to be physically immature for their age, excitable and overactive. The predisposition to delinquency must be considerable before a boy would join with a relative stranger in delinquency, and such associations are not common. These groups shade imperceptibly into the other unstructured, much commoner, delinquent groups. They differ from the loose-antisocial groups in not having a history of repeated delinquency and in having a better prognosis.

S. A., a healthy intelligent 13-year-old boy, who had been under treatment at a child-guidance clinic, was discouraged and depressed by his parents' renewed rejection of him. They had both gone on a day's outing, leaving him at home. He sought out a boy, not his friend, but known to S. A. to have stolen in the past, and with his aid, took the back off the wardrobe (the usual repository for family savings) in his own home. With this fleeting acquaintance he then made a determined effort, aided by his father's £50 savings, to dispel his gloom and express his resentment. He asked to be sent from home.

Sometimes a boy will be carried along through a casual contact with a little group of more determined or experienced delinquents, so that the one delinquent escapade can have very different meanings for various members of the group. It is important to recognize the casual 'inclusion' lest he be made to suffer unduly for the behaviour of others. A very obvious instance of this was N., a rubicund little boy of Frolich type, astonishingly charged with indecent assault of a girl. The circumstances were that P. (14) grabbed something belonging to a 12-year-old girl—the sort of activity

which constantly goes on between restless children when they are unoccupied. She took fright and ran away, thus stimulating P.'s longings to be powerful and dominant; he gave chase and tongue; others, including N., joined in. The girl was run to earth, P. tugged at her clothing, sexual aggressive and exploratory instincts were released, some joined in and others stood round fascinated but doing nothing to help the frightened girl.

GROUPS OF FRIENDS AND SIBLINGS

Most group offences are committed in the company of friends or of siblings, whose usual activities are not delinquent. The delinquency may be primarily a matter of opportunity but in most cases predisposition is high. There is a leader but, if delinquency occurs, the initiative and direction may not have been taken by him. Although there may be a nucleus of 'regulars' in the group, membership is not controlled as it is in gangs and there are no initiation procedures or secret signs. Such groups may develop into well structured gangs or, more frequently, degenerate into distinctly antisocial, poorly structured 'mobs'; they can, however, hover between the two for periods of many years. The members are often aware of having common difficulties at home and give the impression of trying to fend off unhappiness and a frankly antisocial existence, through mutual support, and shared legitimate activities. It is quite possible in these groups for some of the members to abstain from the occasional delinquent activities without losing face with the others—a situation which would be unthinkable in a gang.

Two intelligent boys of 14 and 15 years had been found guilty of snatching an elderly lady's handbag and sharing the contents, staying out overnight afterwards. One had no previous offence, while the other had been involved in a very minor stealing a year earlier. They had been friends since the age of 6 years and had been at the same schools, had often been camping together and recently had attended the same evening classes. This offence occurred when, in both cases, the home problem had flared up considerably. Separately examined, each showed accurate insight into the problem of the other. In one case the mother had, for a long time, been seeking to 'send him away' and father said that he didn't hit the boy because 'I might kill him'. This boy had always been unwanted (an attempt was made to abort the pregnancy) and the marriage was a most unstable one. In the other case circumstances were equally unsatisfactory and complicated by mother's alcoholism. The basis of the association was genuine friendship and the sympathetic sharing of a similar problem. The delinquency was a very secondary terminal development, but a definite indication that the situation was becoming intolerable.

The home backgrounds are not always rejecting. The following two 14-year-olds, belonging to a group of seven boys, were charged with stealing.

R. T. had poor vision, bitten nails and was emotionally childish and with a strong sense of inferiority; he cried very easily and was unnaturally dependent on his over-protective mother. She was a pale anxious woman who could not bear quarrelling or scenes; she did not get on well with her husband who constantly criticized the boy. D. C.'s parents worried because he was undersized, childish and easily led. Mother tried to belittle her husband and held the family reins, over-indulging the boy as regards material comforts. Father was very lenient in reaction to his own strict upbringing. The seven boys had been friends for three years. Six months ago R. T. and D. C. had gradually defaulted from their club, from the Boys' Brigade and from the Army Training Corps. Neither had committed offences until two months ago when they were placed under probationary supervision for house-breaking. They were reintroduced to their clubs but only attended once. The other five boys, with whom they still maintained friendship, were not delinquent, although two of them would wait outside while a 'job' was being done. The other three stayed at home when they thought delinquent activities were likely.

A more typical example is provided by four boys aged 14, 13, 12 and 11 years, who 'lifted' a pineapple. On the day of the offence, three of them met on the pavement as was usual, and waited for the fourth. They intended to go to the park to play football, but decided to make a detour via the market to see what could be 'knocked off'. All the boys lived near one another and attended the same school, two of them in the same class. Each had belonged to youth recreational organizations and two still attended. Two of them, the 12- and 13-year-olds, independently stated that they had been stealing from shops and stalls, singly and as a group, when the opportunity presented itself, for years and without previously being caught. They met regularly for other purposes than delinquency, usually football. Two were living under great tension at home, the pattern being similar in both cases—only children of parents who did not get on well together, mother being dissatisfied and father discouraged and disinterested in the boy. The third was a boy with a history of epileptic fits and a mother who rejected him. The fourth was not studied.

Where little groups of siblings are involved in stealing useful things, the possibility of parental direction should be held in mind.

K. had been in trouble for stealing fuel and stores from shops and barges on five occasions between 9 and 12, on each occasion accompanied by a sister (2 years older) or a brother (2 years younger). He said there had been a great many other undetected offences. Psychiatric examination showed no abnormality of the children and no earlier history of emotional troubles. Investigation confirmed that the parents had encouraged the stealing and that both parents had criminal records.

Such findings of multiple stealings of valuables by several children of the family in the absence of other offences or of evidence of emotional difficulties is very typical of parental direction.

Sometimes very disturbed and jealous boys or girls will take with them, on their delinquent escapades, the young sibling who is the object of their jealousy, in order to involve him also in trouble, danger and parental disapproval. Indeed this sometimes seems to be the outstanding motive of the delinquency or running away.

The friendships, sometimes leading to delinquency, in which the basis of the relationship is the need of the older boy to protect and lead a younger and very passive boy who enjoys the dependent relationship, needs to be mentioned. Such relationships are clearly closely allied to homosexuality, but, as Healy suggested, can exist without any question of overt practices.

LOOSE ANTISOCIAL GROUPS

These groups are composed of very antisocially inclined children or youths, who combine promiscuously in loosely structured, unorganized, fluid groups. They are so unhappy and disturbed in relation to their homes and to society at large as to be careless of the consequences of their actions, often hoping to be removed from home, and regularly looking for or initiating delinquent openings in an indiscriminate and unplanned manner. They often appear to be bent on a headlong delinquent phase which is not interrupted by court appearance, so that even while on remand they may continue to offend.

Three boys, aged 7, 8 and 9 years, entered premises and in a few minutes did £100 worth of damage; they did not steal anything. Two of them were brothers. Their mother is an epileptic and her sister asthmatic. She is erratic and harsh but capable of affection to the young members of this large family. Recently she impulsively left home because she was 'fed-up'. The home atmosphere is chaotic and the older children driven out on to the street. These two lads were healthy, of average intelligence, restless, sensitive and distrustful of everybody—two highly frustrated, emotionally immature youngsters, one of whom frankly wanted to join a brother already in an approved school. The third boy also had a brother just licensed from an approved school, and his mother was an embittered, shrewish woman with little warmth of affection for the boy. Erratic and unstable in her own affairs, she was incapable of controlling her children. She found this boy 'restless like a caged lion at home'. She has long been separated from her husband so that this boy has been shuttled between two homes for most of his life. He also is healthy, intelligent, but distrustful and resentful. He wanted to get away from his frustrating and disappointing home. Such a combination of boys is particularly predisposed to embark on some orgy of destruction which expresses their resentment, releases their frustration and ensures that they be sent away. The more determined member makes the opportunity and is then himself stimulated by the uncontrolled excitement of the others.

H. A., W. M. and A. E. were found guilty of stealing from a parked motor car. Each had a considerable record of offences and had taken part in numerous undetected crimes over a period of many years, with a variety of different groups of boys. They were not organized as a gang and had little or no loyalty one to another. The following shows the similarity and seriousness of their positions.

<i>H. A. (12$\frac{3}{12}$)</i>	<i>W. M. (12$\frac{1}{12}$)</i>	<i>A. E. (10$\frac{7}{12}$)</i>
<i>Previous record</i>		
at 9. Unlawful possession	at 11. Stealing	at 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. Beyond control.
10. Stealing bicycle.	11. Stealing.	10. Stealing.
11. Stealing bicycle.	12. Stealing.	
11. Suspected person.		
<i>Other members of family with criminal record</i>		
Father and brother.	Father and brother.	Two brothers.
<i>Parental relationships</i>		
Separated since F.'s last imprisonment.	Father alcoholic and shirks responsibility.	F. deserted just before this boy's birth,
Mother cohabiting.	Mother 'superior', well-spoken, tense, unaffectionate.	returning when he was 9. History of insanity in three near paternal relations.
		P.G.M. alcoholic.
<i>Early history</i>		
Unwanted baby.	Removed from home before 2. Fretted severely.	No separation from home till 8, when he
M. soon returned to work. Grandmother cared for him. Day nursery at first opportunity.	Back at 5, but has remained 'odd man out'.	went into a residential school for two years.
Much illness. Away from home between 6 and 7.		
<i>Boy</i>		
Healthy, I.Q. 107. Aggressive, hostile and distrustful. Doesn't want to go home.	Healthy, I.Q. 92. Can't settle or concentrate. Covers his feelings beneath a superficial friendliness. No regret or sense of guilt.	Healthy, I.Q. 102. Anxious and insecure. Wants to go home.

Another group of three boys who offended together had each taken part in other group offences involving fifteen other boys from the district.

In these groups the rôle of leader means very little. A boy may be the follower in one offence in the morning and the leader of a different group in the afternoon. As Emanuel Miller (1944) wrote, 'I could find no sense of community between them, no feeling of a common end dominating or animating the group as such, and little sense of honour of the group. What held them together, on close examination, was the fact that each one of them needed some form of psychological outlet which could only be found through the temporary aggregation.' Often it is the most excitable and poorly self-controlled individual who acts as catalyst to the group, yet afterwards, when the group is examined as a whole, that member shows little or no powers of leadership.

P. had to be removed from home at 6½ because of his mother's continual neglect of him. He and some of his siblings were illegitimate and his mother was an ex-approved school girl. Father was passive, inadequate and avoided parental responsibilities. P., who has a long history of offences, is a pale, thin, backward boy, with many fears, yet can be wilful and fiery tempered and seems quite irresponsible. He became involved with a younger boy who resembled him very closely even to the content of his drawings and phantasy. He was, if anything, the leader of the pair, but when the second boy was sent away from home because of offences as part of a different group, P. joined another, older, delinquent lad, and was then clearly a follower.

A 15½-year-old boy of immature physical development, very weak character but good intelligence, acted as 'catalyst' to his group. Shifted about as a child, and spending much of his time in hospitals and residential schools, he has never been able to make a satisfying personal relationship, least of all with his mother. He tries to impress people and to boost his self-regard, by being tough, but he dissolves into tears if threatened. He is extremely bitter and unhappy. He does not offend very often and then only with much older boys. But he acts as a spur to them, and, once entry into a building is gained, he feels powerful, excited and proceeds to wreck the place in wanton fashion.

STATISTICAL STUDY

Boys between the ages of 8 and 17 years, under investigation for present proved offences carried out in the company of other juveniles, were studied as regards age, type of association, composition of the group, damage done; they were compared in certain respects with boys under investigation for present proved offences but never known to have offended in company with others. It is recognized that these samples are not likely to be representative of delinquents as a whole. Elaborate study has not therefore been considered justifiable.

Type of Association

	Uncertain	4
Structured	Proper gangs	17
Unstructured (86 per cent.)	{ Fleeting associations	18
	{ Usual companions	69
	{ Loose antisocial groups	43

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Damage done

estimated on a three-point scale: (1) trivial and none
 (2) considerable
 (3) serious

	<i>Rating</i>			<i>Number of offenders</i>
	1	2	3	
Gangs proper	3 17.6%	5 29.4%	9 52.9%	17
Fleeting	8 44.4%	6 33.3%	4 22.2%	18
Usual comps.	27 39.1%	27 39.1%	15 21.7%	69
Loose antisocial	16 37.1%	9 20.9%	18 41.8%	43
Solitary recidivists	36 56.2%	24 37.5%	4 6.2%	64
Solitary first offenders	73 67%	26 23.8%	10 9.1%	109

A gang does most damage per offence, then in decreasing order a loose antisocial group, a usual companion group, a fleeting group, with solitary offenders last.

Average Ages in Years

	<i>Age</i>	<i>Number</i>
Gang	13	17
Fleeting associations	12.4	18
Usual companions	13	69
Loose antisocial	13.1	43
Solitary	14	140

Composition

In 131 group offences { 349 individuals involved (av. 2.6)
 3 offences included one girl each
 39 siblings were involved in 32 cases

Gangs	average membership 2.5	no sibs. no girls
Fleeting associations	average membership 3.6	2 offences included 1 sib. each 1 offence included 2 sibs.
Usual companions	average membership 2.2	3 offences included 1 girl each 21 offences included 1 sib. each 7 offences included 2 sibs. each
Loose antisocial	average membership 2.9	1 offence involved 1 sib.

Order of Offences

The first of 2 offences—53 as group member, 35 alone.

The first of 3 or more offences—35 as group member, 37 alone.

There is thus little indication as to whether, in those who commit both solitary and mixed offences, the solitary or group offence breaks the ice.

In an attempt to determine differences between those who offend in company and those who do not, forty-nine juveniles who had been found guilty of two or more lone offences and no group offences were compared with fifty-seven juveniles who had been found guilty of two or more group offences and no lone offences, in respect of the following five factors (each rated on a three-point scale): constitutional, organic, adverse social forces, neurotic conflicts, antisocial personality disorder. Adverse social forces are not significantly different for the two groups. Neurotic conflicts are not diagnosed in either group. Lone offenders show slightly greater constitutional handicap, a slightly higher incidence of antisocial personality disorder and a slightly greater incidence of organic factors (organic here includes epilepsy and psychosis). Lone offenders also show a very much higher incidence of any of the five factors acting in high degree (*i.e.*, scored three on the rating scale) even though the total score for all five factors may not be greater.

The handicap of group offenders is more evenly spread over the five possible areas. Lone offenders did not appear to be more neurotic than group offenders.

TREATMENT

An initial, and perhaps trite, point is that treatment is not always necessary, especially in those numerous adolescent groups to which the main objection is only that they look or sound dangerous. Provided that mature modes of self-expression are made available for them, it may be best to leave them alone.

'Breaking up' and Repression. Burt (1925) held that 'It may be wise to see and study all the child's acquaintances, and perhaps take measures to banish the ring-leader or to break up the group', and the ring of confederates should be dispersed 'once for all. This can only be done effectively by persuading or compelling the various families to move from the district.' The same idea was echoed in the summary of suggestions for abating delinquency made at a conference in London's County Hall in July 1949—'Young gang leaders, who are the real delinquents, should be removed from where they can exert harmful influence on other youngsters.' But as Thrasher wrote in 1927, 'boyish energies, like tics, suppressed at one place are sure to break out at some other'. Many instances could be quoted in which removing certain boys and girls has led to a marked improvement in the tension and in the number of offences of the district; such a course may be necessary, but is an admission of defeat and may leave the removed individuals free to cause trouble elsewhere or on their return. It is indeed easier to suppress a gang than to adjust a gang member, or as Turner and Spencer (1955), whose whole article deals most helpfully with these problems, conclude, '... no policy of simple repression can hope to succeed'.

Removal or 'breaking up' seems necessary when one or more very disturbed boys are holding a group together only by terrorism, and where, although the situation has been properly diagnosed, it has not been possible to ameliorate it by other means.

It was earlier suggested that the readiness with which delinquents are removed from their homes, and from the neighbourhood, to a variety of different residential institutions, together with the reduction of waste land and 'transitional' areas, may be responsible for the change or difference in the nature of London gangs as compared with those so commonly described in the literature. Whether or not this is so, there can be no doubt that the policy of removal from home has had a very great impact on the problem of delinquency. This is clearly a matter for careful study, but the impression is strongly gained that the prospect of 'putting away' is present in the minds of every parent and child in that emotional struggle which is so commonly the background of delinquency. Without doubt it is frequently used as a

weapon on each side, and may become, for both, an acceptable easy way out. Knowing of its existence, they sometimes almost wrest the initiative from the magistrate and compel this solution. For the child it becomes a safety valve for an intolerable pressure of unhappiness and frustration. The gang may also be looked upon as a safety valve but rather more difficult to operate, so that ready recourse to 'putting away' may well diminish the persistent, structured gang and increase the temporary, short-lived diffuse groups; it may in fact, for good or ill, be an important prophylactic against classical gang formation.

Sociological Methods. Sociologists have long been aware of the possibilities of working in the open with a gang as a whole. Howard Jones (1948) quotes George and Stowe who, as early as 1913, had transformed a gang of young desperadoes into a posse of police auxiliaries! In the 1920s Thrasher described the 'fly-trap'—a poolroom used as a means of contact with a gang which was then worked upon as a unit. Many workers have continued and developed these techniques. Jean Chazal writes of the 'Friendship team'; an adult gains the confidence of the gang and attempts to guide them; 'Work in the streets is cheaper and more effective than the creation of boarding establishments.' Roy Mitchell (1951) makes the points that it is necessary to tackle all the gangs of the area at the same time and that women may more easily make contact with some boys' gangs than men. Two experimental ventures in London are especially worthy of note, that with the Hoxton Boys (Turner and Spencer, 1955) and the Barge Club (Turner, 1953). The latter appealed to certain 'un-clubbable' boys who 'might respond to a challenge based on physical risk and adventure, combined at the same time with the psychological "security" arising from the situation where the individual felt accepted into a group atmosphere which was acceptable to him.' The sociologist recognizes the actual gang as possessing an existing structure which could be utilized. 'The natural gangs, cliques, societies and other adolescent groups represent one of the ideal units for effective education' (Brew, 1955).

The writer's experience with London antisocial groups suggests that the customary companions and gangs-proper may be most likely to respond to these techniques, but that the regressing adolescent street groups, the fleeting contact groups, and the loose antisocial groups are likely to be most difficult to bring in or to work with as a whole. The high proportion of antisocial groups which lack appreciable stable structure, if it is confirmed, may be of importance to sociologists. It may be necessary to multiply the special clubs of the Barge Club type into which very antisocial individuals may be introduced, perhaps with that nice blend of authority and friendship which probation officers can use.

Individual Therapeutic Methods. The writer feels (as psychiatrists are very prone to do) that the extent of emotional disturbance in the homes of these children and adolescents is much underestimated and that the very frequency of such disturbance leads to its acceptance as 'normal', which, in turn, may lead workers to tackle the problem too superficially. The amount of maladjustment revealed, in the members and their families, through the close study of one small antisocial group is sometimes very great. Hewitt and Jenkins (1946) give some indication as to these cases in which social measures may be insufficient, 'It would seem offhand that where delinquency could be traced to tensions arising out of the early family history, individual psychotherapy would be indicated and an environmental attack contraindicated.' Experience shows, however, that it is just these early-arising cases which prove to be so resistant to individual psychotherapy. Thus Fritz Redl (1945), writing specifically on the treatment of delinquent gang members, holds that the gang influence is maintained even when the individual is in other groups or with the psychiatrist. The gang member, he says, identifies the therapist with the hostile out-group. The psychotherapist cannot operate in 'group psychological mid-air'. The psychology of the group as well as of the individual must be understood, and thus may only be possible if the psychiatrist or his group therapeutic helper is 'part and parcel' of the group. Proper supportive treatment, Redl concludes, could then be applied in and through the group, in addition to individual psychotherapy.

But hostility to the world does not arise in the gang, and is just as frequent and just as logically treated by group psychotherapy, in those who belong to loosely structured delinquent groups or to no spontaneous group at all.

Topping (1943) finds in her 'pseudo-social gang boys', who are socialized, but to the wrong set of standards, that their whole adjustment fends off awareness of inner conflicts; 'The effort should be to divert his drive into socially acceptable channels rather than to uncover deep-seated conflicts'. She advises therapists not to expect too much, not to attempt deep level therapy unless facilities are exceptional, and not to focus on seeking to develop insight. A point which is sometimes underestimated, both by psychiatrists and sociologists, is that more is accomplished through the personality and friendship of the worker than through any specific activities in the group or by any elucidation of psychopathology.

SUMMARY

The groups in which London juvenile delinquents commit offences are contrasted with those described in the literature with particular attention

to structure and motivation. The clinical descriptions of the several different sorts of delinquent groupings (especially the predominance of loosely organized groups) indicate the need for group diagnosis which may have implications for prognosis and treatment. Simple statistics concerning four sorts of delinquent groups are given, and compared in some respects with a control group of 'lone' offenders. Consideration of treatment methods points to the need for a combined sociological and psychological approach.

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INDICATIONS FOR RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT OF THE DELINQUENT CHILD ¹

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The object of this essay is to review the cases of ninety-nine delinquent children, in order to discover what were the factors upon which a decision was taken by the psychiatrist for or against residential treatment, and to assess what, if any, guiding principles may be adduced from the handling of this material. It is with the opinion formed by the psychiatrist, or with any recommendation made by him to the court or to any other authority, that we are concerned.

The treatment of delinquency is not purely a medical problem, but is always a social and finally a legal one. An incidental factor deserves brief mention. In cases that have been before the court the remand usually is for a fortnight, and it is undesirable that this should have to be extended if it can be avoided. Often it is not possible for the psychiatrist to find the time to see the child more than once in this period. He is, of course, assisted by reports that have been made to him—by probation officer, headmaster and superintendent of the remand home for instance—and usually by at least a matrix assessment of the child's intelligence. Nevertheless, if he is unable in a single interview to feel that he has done full justice to the case, it is essential to arrange a second interview, even if this necessitates asking for a further remand.

Residential treatment, as understood in this paper, implies that the child should be resident away from his home, usually in an approved school, a probation hostel or a maladjusted school or hostel, for a long period and as a matter of policy.³ In cases where admission to a psychiatric hospital for investigation and/or treatment was recommended, this has not been regarded

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³ Infrequently a children's home maintained by the children's department or by a voluntary agency may provide the residential treatment of choice. Detention centres have not figured in this series. Sometimes the recommendation has been made that there should be attendance at a psychiatric clinic in addition to approved school, etc., residence, but one never knows whether it will be possible to have this recommendation carried out and it is therefore the writer's policy to make such a proviso very sparingly.

as residential treatment unless such was advised after the child left the hospital.

The material consists of (a) ninety-one young persons (eighty-five boys and six girls) who had been referred by the courts for psychiatric examination, and (b) eight young persons (three boys and five girls) who had been brought by their parents to the clinic on account of delinquent behaviour. The age group has been restricted to children aged between 11 and 17 because of the status of the boys' remand home, which did not admit younger boys, and because it so happened that all the girls referred by the courts came in this age group; the total number of children in the series is restricted to ninety-nine because of the closure of the remand home, as a result of which the supply of cases virtually came to an end and the small number who have since been seen elsewhere are too recent for evaluation.

The first question that arises is whether both groups can be taken together for the purposes of the survey or whether each must be treated separately. In group (a) forty-three were recommended for institutional treatment and forty-eight to remain at home; (b) two were eventually recommended for institutional treatment and six to remain at home. In group (b) there is a much smaller proportion of recommendations for residential treatment than is the case with group (a), but when we remember that these children in group (b) were brought by their parents for treatment, no court action being involved, and that they were presumably in the first stages of delinquent behaviour, it is not surprising that only two out of the eight had eventually to be sent away from home. There is no reason to believe that a different set of principles operated in this decision than was the case with group (a), and it would therefore appear sound policy to take the two groups together as a single series of ninety-nine young persons.

METHOD

A number of factors have been selected as likely to have had a bearing on the decision for or against institutional treatment, and it is proposed to examine each of these individually to see if any correlation exists between the quality of the factor and the type of decision made.

Factors selected are:

- (1) All children.
- (2) Age: (a) under 15 ; (b) 15 and above.
- (3) Sex.
- (4) Intelligence ⁴: (a) below average ; (b) average ; (c) high.

⁴ Unfortunately the time and facilities at my disposal did not permit the assessment of intelligence by an accurate test, such as the Stanford-Binet, except in a small number of cases in which I felt it essential to have this done. Most others had a matrix test, but in some we had to be content with assessment on the basis of my own judgment assisted by the school report.

(5) Psychiatric assessment⁵: (a) anxious, insecure or immature; (b) affectionless or character disordered children; (c) children regarded as psychiatrically more or less normal. Three of the children appeared more correctly to be described as 'depressed children' but for the purposes of the present study they have been included in group (a).

(6) Home circumstances: (a) on the whole favourable; (b) not favourable.

Some difficulties arise in classifying home circumstances. It was often impossible to assess in the time at our disposal how far adverse home circumstances existed in the earliest years of life, when their etiological influence would be greatest. Even when such appeared to be the case, it did not follow that the children's *present* home was an unfavourable environment. For example, my summarized notes in one case are: 'Father harsh and domineering but good relationship with mother.' This boy was brought to court as 'beyond parental control'. Yet probation and residence at home was the recommendation and I regard this home as being, on the whole, a favourable one. In another case the home gave the general impression of being a good one and the parents loving, but investigation revealed that a considerable element of rejection existed, so that it was decided to classify the home as unfavourable.

Had the object of this essay been to incriminate the unsatisfactory home as a cause of delinquency, not a few homes which have herein been classified as satisfactory would have fallen into the unsatisfactory group. In one such case, the child was evacuated at the age of three, his mother died when he was four, and he has had an institutional life ever since until recently, when he has been living with a married sister. His sister's is a good home for the purposes of the present study, although his earlier home circumstances were not good.

(7) Nature of offence: (a) stealing from parents or at home; (b) solitary stealing from persons outside the home (one case is included in which the offence was 'Loitering and being a suspected person'); (c) stealing in association with others outside; (d) beyond parental control or in need of care and protection; (e) sexual offences; (f) violence or wounding. This group includes one boy who had not been actually violent but was potentially so, being the most severely aggressive individual in the whole series; also one or two cases where stealing was accompanied by violent assault or

⁵ This is a psychiatric assessment orientated with a view to the type of disposal or treatment likely to be most beneficial to the child. A parallel grouping might have been included, having regard to such features as aggressiveness, sexual maladjustment, behaviour disorders, want of consideration for others—these again in their bearing upon disposal. These factors have, however, been taken into consideration, some of them coming within the purview of 'type of offence', and some within the existing 'psychiatric assessment'.

wounding have been included in group (*f*) as wounding seemed the more serious offence. It is relevant to observe that a number of writers treat stealing as though it were a single entity. It is better to designate the *type* of stealing, on account of the differences in inter-personal relationships involved. One or two classifications have had to be made arbitrarily, *e.g.* a boy who stole from the electric meter in his own home has been included in group (*a*) rather than (*b*); and in a few cases, where the notes are not clear as to whether a young person stole in isolation or in association with others, it has been necessary to make a guess from the circumstances in allocating as between groups (*b*) and (*c*). In one or two cases where the boy stole in isolation but sold the stolen goods and where solitariness was not a marked feature, I have treated the stealing as having been not of the solitary type.

(8) Previous offences: (*a*) cases in which there is a record of previous offences of broadly similar nature to the present; (*b*) cases in which there is a record of previous offences of quite dissimilar nature; (*c*) cases with no such record.

The importance of distinguishing between (*a*) and (*b*) is illustrated by the case of a boy who was on probation for stealing when a homosexual 'offence' came to light. He was, therefore, sent to an approved school without any request by the court for a psychiatric opinion. The Home Office subsequently referred him to the psychiatrist who considered that the court had apparently been in error in regarding the homosexual offence as additive to the offences of stealing. On the other hand, where a child has had previous psychological treatment for such offences as theft and subsequently comes before the court on such a charge, his case is regarded as belonging to group (*a*). A number of children, although they had no previous convictions, had such episodes in their history as child guidance treatment or behaviour disorders such as repeated truancy. It has been decided not to take cognizance of such factors in compiling the figures.

(9) Associates and relationships: (*a*) on the whole satisfactory; (*b*) unsatisfactory.

A number of considerations enter into the assessment of this factor, *e.g.* is the child a good mixer; are his associates desirable companions or not; are the friendships he has real or are they merely superficial, temporary contacts; does the existence of a girl friend redeem the case of an older boy who has been a poor mixer with other boys? I have tried to decide whether the child's contacts with his peers have, on the whole, been healthy and adequate, or have not.

(10) Additional factors such as the child's own wishes, considerations of physical health, special attachments, idiosyncrasies or fears, etc.

(11) Probation officer's opinion.

(12) Experiences at remand homes.

The following table shows the number of young people in each of the categories (1) to (9), along with the decision for or against institutional treatment.

TABLE I

<i>Factor to be examined</i>	<i>No. of children concerned</i>	<i>Recommendation against residential treatment</i>	<i>Residential treatment recommended</i>
1. All children	99	54	45
2. Age: (a) 11 to 14	20	10	10
(b) 15 to 17	79	44	35
3. Sex: (a) Male	88	47	41
(b) Female	11	7	4
4. Intelligence: (a) Below average	18	7	11
(b) Average	71	40	31
(c) High	10	7	3
5. Psychiatric Assessment:			
(a) Anxious, insecure, or immature	45	28	17
(b) Affectionless or character disordered	37	10	27
(c) Normal	17	16	1
6. Home Circumstances: (a) Favourable	58	46	12
(b) Not favourable	41	8	33
7. Nature of Offence:			
(a) Stealing from parents or home	6	5	1
(b) Stealing (solitary) from persons outside the home.	40	20	20
(c) Stealing in association with others outside	15	6	9
(d) Beyond parental control	16	8	8
(e) Sexual offences	14	12	2
(f) Violence or wounding	8	3	5
8. Previous Offences:			
(a) Similar to present	35	12	23
(b) Dissimilar to present	8	5	3
(c) No such record	56	37	19
9. Associates and Relationships:			
(a) Satisfactory	31	20	11
(b) Not satisfactory	68	33	35

CONSIDERATION OF TABLE

(1) *All children.* Taking the group of ninety-nine children as a whole, a definite though not very large majority were recommended for some form of disposal based upon their remaining at home. Even if we take the eighty-five boys who were referred for opinion by the court, we find that forty-four were recommended to be allowed to remain at home, as against forty-one for whom residential care was advised.

(2) *Age.* The result here is at first sight a little surprising for, of the older group, only thirty-five out of seventy-nine are recommended for residential treatment, whereas of the younger, it is a full 50 per cent. The weakness, however, of the figures here is that they do not include 8- to 10-year-olds. But so far as they go these figures suggest that the proportion of delinquent children approaching or in their early teens who require to be sent away from home is not less than that of the older teen-agers.

(3) *Sex.* Looking at the matter from the angle of sex, we find that a small majority of the boys—forty-seven as against forty-one—were regarded as suitable to remain at home. In the case of the girls, however, a bigger proportion—seven as against four—were so regarded. There are probably reasons for this difference, even if the small total of eleven girls limits the significance of these figures. It has been claimed that girls tend to pine more and to thrive less well in the relatively impersonal and single-sex environment of the approved school than is the case with boys. Furthermore, offences of a more serious kind socially, such as wounding and breaking-in, are almost exclusively the perquisite of boys; but to some extent the problem presented by the promiscuous girl must be set against this. Thus there probably are grounds to justify the leaving at home of girl offenders in instances where the other factors would, in the case of a boy, force one to recommend residential treatment.

(4) *Intelligence.* The figures reveal a tendency for residential treatment to be recommended for delinquent children of below average intelligence in a higher proportion of cases than in the group as a whole; whereas those with superior intellect are separated from their homes in a relatively small percentage of cases.

(5) *Psychiatric assessment.* The disposal of insecure, anxious, immature or depressed children often gives particular concern and one is anxious where possible to retain them at home. It will be seen that, of the forty-five children in this group, twenty-eight were recommended to remain at home and seventeen to undergo residential treatment. Thus, the proportion allowed to remain at home is in general accord with, although somewhat higher than, that for the whole series. If, however, we compare the recommended disposal with the type of home, we find that thirty of the forty-five

children came from homes regarded as satisfactory and of these twenty-five were recommended to continue at home and five for residential treatment elsewhere, whereas in the case of fifteen children coming from unfavourable home environments, only three were recommended to continue at home and twelve to have treatment away from home. So tied up is emotional security with home circumstances that it will be of interest to ask why five anxious, insecure children from good homes were sent away and why three from unfavourable homes were allowed to remain there. One of the five boys had already been in a probation hostel following previous offences of a similar nature and had run away. He was described by his probation officer as 'obstinate, headstrong, resenting discipline and having kept late hours at home'. The primary essential in the recommendation I made was that he should have psychiatric treatment and this seemed more easily obtainable if he remained under residential supervision in London rather than if he returned to his home in the north of England. The second boy, aged 16 and of just below average intelligence, had been stealing in association with a man who eventually went to prison. He had no satisfactory relationships outside his home, and the latter, though in itself seemingly satisfactory, was insufficiently stabilizing, besides which he also had a previous conviction for theft. The third boy was of low intelligence and the present was his fourth conviction for theft. The fourth boy had a previous conviction for theft of goods worth hundreds of pounds; he had already been for a short period in one of the Services and had, on his own showing, deliberately wet his bed in order to obtain his discharge. The fifth boy was below average in intelligence, and had previously been convicted for a similar type of offence (theft and breaking in without accomplices); his probation officer advised approved school treatment, and the boy himself said he found city life frustrating and asked to be sent away. Of the three boys from unsatisfactory homes in whose cases the recommendation nevertheless was that they should remain at home, the first had been remanded for indecent assault on a step-sister; psychiatric treatment was recommended, and there were reasons for believing that the probation officer would be able to effect an arrangement whereby the boy would reside with relatives, with whom, indeed, he had been living for a short period following the offence and where he was happy. In the case of the second boy, although all other considerations favoured approved school treatment, he was so very insecure and afraid of society that it was recommended that he should remain at home and attend a psychiatric clinic. This recommendation was made despite the facts that his intelligence was low (I.Q. 79), that he had already been on probation for previous offences of larceny and that he had previously had child guidance treatment. At his subsequent appearance in court, he adopted

an arrogant attitude and was sent to an approved school, so that we cannot be sure what might have been the outcome of more conservative treatment. The third boy, aged 15, attended a grammar school, suffered from enuresis and had no previous offences—the present offence was solitary stealing outside his home—and child guidance treatment was recommended. There is, however, a subsequent note to the effect that his mother did not co-operate in the matter of this treatment, and that it would probably have been a better disposal had he been sent to an approved school in the first instance. On the other hand, it was not easy at the time to foresee this and it would have been difficult to justify so stern a sentence straight away.

It is not surprising that a high proportion (27 out of 37 or 73 per cent.) of those classified as affectionless or character disordered have had to be sent away from home. The fact that only one child, out of the seventeen regarded as psychiatrically normal, was removed from home is, I think, largely a reflection of the circumstance that good homes tend to produce normal children. Of the seventeen children, fourteen came from homes regarded as being, on the whole, satisfactory—82 per cent. as compared with 58·6 per cent. of satisfactory homes in the whole series.

(6) *Home circumstances.* With little doubt the child's home circumstances are the principal single factor upon which one forms a decision for or against his remaining at home. In our series fifty-eight young persons were living in homes regarded as being, on the whole, favourable, and of these forty-six (79·3 per cent.) were regarded as suitable to be allowed to remain at home, whereas in the case of forty-one children whose homes were unfavourable, only eight (19·5 per cent.) were so regarded. Even so, these figures reveal that a substantial number of children may have to be sent away from satisfactory homes or may have to be retained in homes that are not, the figure being almost exactly 20 per cent. in each case. We have already referred to the reasons underlying the decisions in the cases of the eight anxious, insecure children for whom the recommendation did not tally with the nature of the home, and in the cases of those similarly treated but in other diagnostic groups, the reasons for the decisions were broadly of a similar nature.

(7) *Nature of offence.* In so far as the nature of the offence has been a factor in the decision for or against residential treatment it has probably been so, not so much for itself, but rather because certain types of offence tend to go along with certain types of psychological constitution and, because of the causal relationship that the environment possesses, with certain qualities of personality. However that may be, the offences classified in the table, if judged from the point of view of the recommendation made as to disposal, divide themselves roughly into three groups. Firstly, of the

offences of solitary stealing from persons outside the home (forty) and of being beyond parental control (sixteen), numbering fifty-six in all, exactly half were dealt with by a recommendation in favour of residential treatment. This proportion is roughly comparable to the average for the whole series. In a second group, comprising the offences of stealing from parents at home (six) and sexual offences (fourteen), out of a total of twenty only three were recommended to be sent away from home; but in the third group, consisting of those convicted of stealing in association with others from persons outside the home (fifteen) and those convicted of wounding (eight), a definite majority—fourteen out of a total of twenty-three—suffered the recommendation that they should be sent to residential treatment. The types of personality generally characteristic of these several offences are not without significance when character reform is under consideration and it is desirable to pay regard to the psychological aspects of any crime or offence rather than to adopt legal concepts in this matter.

(8) *Previous offences.* It is not a surprise to find that a substantial majority of those who had convictions for offences of the same nature as the present were recommended to be sent for residential treatment, while in the case of first offenders a similar majority (about two-thirds) had a recommendation that they should be allowed to remain at home. The group of eight children who had previous offences of a dissimilar kind may be too small to have undoubted validity, but it is interesting that in their psychiatrist's recommendation they compare with the first offenders, almost two-thirds of them having recommendations to remain at home. Perhaps, however, the most arresting feature is that as many as nineteen first offenders out of a total of fifty-six should have appeared to need residential placement away from home. In only four of these cases was the home considered satisfactory. One of the four was epileptic and his behaviour disorder was the result of this malady; one had failed to improve after lengthy treatment at the child guidance clinic; and a third was unhappy at home, though her home appeared satisfactory. The fourth, a boy of 14, was below average in intelligence, maladjusted and solitary, and it was felt that his character defect was so deep as to require more determined measures than could be applied at home.

(9) *Associates and relationships.* This factor has influenced decisions in two ways. In the first place it has shed light on the personality of the offender, and secondly it has been something of a yardstick by which to assess his likely capacity for social integration with its beneficial effects on character, should he be allowed to remain at home. The positive correlation between a capacity to make social relationships and a decision to allow the offender to continue in the general community is shown by the fact

that, of thirty-one boys who were displaying this capacity, it was possible to allow twenty, almost two-thirds, to continue at home, whereas of sixty-eight poor mixers, only thirty-three, or less than half, could be treated in this way. The correlation is not of very high degree and the influence of the relationships factor is a limited and not a decisive one.

(10) *Additional factors.* Factors not suitable for inclusion in the tables may carry some weight, and the following are examples. Residence with foster-parents or in a hostel had been recommended for a 15-year-old boy. In view of his desire to enlist in the Royal Artillery the court accepted this alternative. A 12-year-old girl was referred as beyond control. On the face of things her home appeared satisfactory and an EEG was suggestive of epilepsy. The child herself was, however, anxious to go to a boarding school and this factor weighted the decision that she should be placed in a residential school and in the care of the local authority. Remarks such as the following crop up in the notes from time to time and each has been given some weight in assessing the case. 'Cries at my suggestion that he leave home.' 'Well spoken of at school and work.' 'Interest in cars, lorries and cycling.' 'Goes to church and was in Scouts and Cubs till left for A.T.C.' 'Did not get "scholarship"—mother disappointed—I.Q. 143—truant.' 'Has been in various homes and has run away.'

(11) *Probation officer's opinion.* In a substantial number of cases, usually those in which the person has already been under supervision, the probation officer has expressed an opinion for or against residential treatment, and the psychiatrist would be unwise if he did not pay some heed to this opinion. As a matter of felicitous experience I have found that in all but the smallest number of cases the correspondence between the probation officer's conclusions and my own has been close. I cannot refrain from expressing the very high regard in which I have come to hold members of the Probation Service. At the same time, the psychiatrist will occasionally discern elements that are not obvious to the probation officer, the latter has in any case an opportunity to put his views before the Bench and the child is entitled to it that he should have, where necessary, a firmly independent comment from the psychiatrist. It may also be worth while to note that occasionally a not very discerning Juvenile Bench has agreed to the remand for the purpose of obtaining a psychiatric opinion, only because the probation officer has, at the first hearing, pleaded with them to do so.

(12) *Experience at the remand home.* In assessing the likelihood of the child's response to any form of corrective measure, the impressions of those under whose supervision he has been while in the remand home are useful pointers, and more than eighty of those in the present series were on remand. The information received from the superintendent of the home

may be in the form of a written note, but often I have been able to confer with him in direct conversation or on the telephone, and because I served the needs mostly of one particular home I was in a better position to interpret his views than would otherwise have been the case. In a few cases of difficulty the light cast by the boy's behaviour while on remand was of crucial importance in forming a psychiatric assessment. As with the probation officer, the superintendent of the home makes his own report to the magistrates and here again the offender is entitled to have a psychiatrist's opinion which is not biased.

The magistrates themselves have to make the final decision and they are confronted by the accused and have to judge evidence submitted from various sources. If they are going to be faced by conflicting reports or even pleas from such people as the probation officer, the superintendent of the remand home and the psychiatrist, the conflict of views will hinder their aim to form a just and wise judgment. Where possible—and it usually has been quite possible—I have tried to be satisfied beforehand that any marked opposition between the views we are expressing will be ironed out before the court hearing and in those rare cases where I cannot share the views expressed by, say, the probation officer, I have tried to make it clear in my own report what are the psychological reasons why I am suggesting that the court should decide in opposition to his opinion. Fortunately such instances have been few and far between.

A report from the headmaster or headmistress of the child's school is usually available and the psychiatrist is glad to use the information it contains in assessing the child. But there are reasons why this report is seldom a major influence: for example, the child may have left the school many months before the commission of the offence or he or she may not have been the subject of any close individual assessment, being but one of many children in a large school. Special interest arises where the degree of scholastic attainment is markedly at variance with the result of an intelligence test.

SPECIAL EXAMINATIONS

If the child is in a remand home there will usually have been a physical examination by a doctor and this ought always to be done, as well as any specialist examination for which this may reveal the need.

The question arises as to whether some form of projection testing ought to be undertaken. Anderson (1954) tested eighty-six delinquent boys in this way, but his purpose was to discover what types of response were usual, rather than to assess each individual. Cattell (1946) has said that rating, if carried out with proper safeguard, can rival objective testing in accuracy.

It is probably better to dispense with the use of elaborate methods in the initial assessment except in cases of special difficulty. Such tests seem, indeed, more likely to be of value in the later understanding of the child who has been sent to residential treatment. In our own series it was possible in cases of particular difficulty to have the child admitted for investigation to St. Ebba's Hospital. It is of incidental interest that, in one case where this recommendation was made, the magistrates seem to have disregarded it and the boy was sent to an approved school. The probation officer now reports that he later went to Borstal, but on discharge and upon returning to the army he again committed offences and was recalled to Borstal, where he now is, two and a half years after the original offence and recommendation.

INTUITION

An unconscious appreciation on the part of the psychiatrist of the patient's unconscious response to environment must play some part in the taking of decisions of the sort we have been considering. I am aware, in my own case, of its operation as an identification with the child in his environment, a kind of feeling of myself into his circumstances. Such intuition has value and, in any case, its effect is usually inescapable, but for any of us, apart from those fortunate few who are endowed with a sound and unerring intuitive capacity, to rely strongly on this faculty would be fraught with danger to the young person who is at the bar of justice.

VALIDITY OF FINDINGS

In an attempt to discover how far the recommendations made in favour of the child's remaining at home have been justified by events I have sought from probation officers up-to-date reports on the children's progress. For this purpose the eight children who had been brought by their parents to the child guidance clinic have been excluded, leaving ninety-one children, of whom forty-eight were given a recommendation to the effect that they should remain at home. In eight of these cases the court sent the child to residential treatment despite the psychiatric recommendation to the contrary and in nine it has not been possible to obtain a report. This leaves thirty-one children who were returned to their homes and the results have been as follows:

Outcome on the whole satisfactory	26
Disposal involving residence at home has been a failure	5
	—
Total number of children	31
	—

These figures are regarded as establishing the general soundness of the recommendations made. Unfortunately there is no way of knowing, in the cases of those who were sent to residential treatment, what would have been the outcome had they been allowed to remain at home.

The eight cases in which the court sent the child to residential treatment, despite a psychiatric recommendation in favour of probation while at home, had the following features. Four of them had each two previous convictions and in one of the four the father had deserted the home. The outcome in two of the four was satisfactory, in one case it was not, and in the remaining case it has not been ascertained. Two others had been recommended as just suitable, and no more, for probation: in one of these the offence was that of being beyond parental control and in the other it was of wounding with intent to rob. The former did well in a hostel, but the outcome in the case of the other is not known to me. The seventh boy was insolent to the magistrates in court: he too had previous offences and the psychiatrist favoured probation only because he was an extremely insecure boy. The eighth had already been sent to an approved school before the psychiatrist saw him: the Home Office had called for a psychiatric opinion after his admission. Thus there were, in the seven cases where the magistrates did not follow the psychiatric recommendation, reasonable grounds for their not doing so.

It would, of course, be of value to know what has become of those children who were given a psychiatric recommendation that they should have residential treatment. Before this information can be available it will be necessary to wait until all have completed their residence.

DISCUSSION

From the foregoing it appears that the decision for or against residential treatment is based upon the psychiatrist's assessment of a number of separate factors, and that some of these factors, *e.g.*, home circumstances, are themselves complicated matters to assess. Some factors influence the decision more strongly than others. An attempt is made to evaluate these separate factors and to size up the interaction between them in order to make up one's mind as to what is likely to be best for the child, not forgetting that the court, to which the recommendation is to be submitted, must also pay regard to the claims of society for protection.

An assessment of the factors above outlined appears to form a satisfactory basis for arriving at a conclusion as to whether or not residential treatment should be recommended. How big a part is to be played by the less proven factors in the case, such as the opinions of probation officer

and superintendent of the remand home, and the intuition of the psychiatrist, will vary with the individual nature of the psychiatrist concerned and with his opportunities for co-operation with those other actors in the drama.

A TENTATIVE SCHEME OF CHECKING CONCLUSIONS IN INDIVIDUAL CASES

For the purposes of this study it was necessary to set out the circumstances of the whole series of children in tabular form. In the first column appeared the child's name and sex, in the second his age, in the third the intelligence assessment, in the fourth the assessment of home circumstances, and so on. This provided a sort of cross-section of the child and his circumstances and it would, theoretically, be possible to read off from this tabular scheme indications as to whether or not any particular child would be likely to require residential treatment.

The idea has emerged that it would be of interest to attempt to read off from this tabular cross-section what the decision for or against residential treatment would appear to be, the names of the children being meanwhile covered up, so that one would not be influenced, in this reading-off, by a recollection of the particular child. In this way, one would arrive at a 'decision' in each case, based upon the factors as set out in the tabular scheme, each factor being valued or rated in accordance with its apparent influential trend as revealed by a study of Table I. It would then be interesting to compare these 'decisions' with those that had been actually arrived at after the child was examined.

This has been done in the cases of the first twenty-five boys in our series with the following interesting result. In twenty-two cases the decision for or against residential treatment, as arrived at by deduction from the tabular scheme, agrees with the result actually reached by the psychiatrist's judgment at the time of the examination; but in three cases, in which sending the boy to an approved school was recommended, the effect of deduction from the tabular scheme would have been such as to advise his being allowed to remain at home. It will, therefore, be interesting to re-examine the notes of these three boys. The first was a 14-year-old boy below average in intelligence, unable to read, maladjusted, solitary and perhaps on the way to becoming a psychopathic personality. His home circumstances appeared satisfactory, but he had no friends, and he had by himself broken into a shop and stolen goods to the value of £100. It was his first offence, and reviewing the case now, nearly two years later, it *seems* difficult fully to justify my decision to recommend approved school. A recent enquiry, however, has elicited the information that the magistrates did not follow the recommendation I made but placed the boy on probation, but that subsequently he was arrested for a further offence and then asked for 200 other offences to be

taken into consideration. He was committed to an approved school and several months after his admission the probation officer received a favourable report as to his conduct. The boy is 'the fourth' mentioned on page 35.

The second boy was 16 years of age, of low average intelligence, and had been charged with loitering after he had run away from a probation hostel to which he had been committed on account of several offences of stealing. He was an anxious, insecure boy, obstinate, a poor mixer, and had suffered from asthma. His home environment appeared to have been good, but the probation hostel, the court and the place of examination were 300 miles away from his home. I wonder now, on reviewing these facts, if it might not have been possible to recommend his return home, had I been able, by asking for a further remand and having new enquiries made, to establish an up-to-date contact with it. This is the same boy—'one of the five . . .' as we discussed on page 33.

The third of these boys is 'the second boy' discussed on page 33, who had been stealing in association with an older man. Here, too, one wonders if probation might not have been given a chance. There is, of course, no way of knowing what would have happened had the second and third of these boys been allowed to remain at home, but the failure of home-based treatment in the case of the first boy does suggest that any tabular-based form of assessment may fail to take important factors into consideration.

On the other hand, the fact that, in twenty-two cases out of twenty-five (88 per cent.) the 'decision' come to by consulting the tabular scheme was in accord with the decision that had actually been made after examining the boy does suggest that the scheme-based method possesses a rough sort of accuracy and that, if carefully elaborated, such a method might be made use of.

It is not for one moment suggested that such a system of deduction should form the basis of a decision as to whether a young person should be sent away from home or allowed to remain there; but it might be worth while to pause before confirming a decision so disturbing as that a young person should be sent away from home if that clinical decision turns out to be at variance with what a study of the tabular scheme would suggest.

Before this could be done, it would be necessary to submit the figures in Table I, or a similar series, to some form of statistical analysis in order to determine the degree of correlation between each of the factors and the recommendation.

SURVEY OF LITERATURE

The work of a number of other investigators is relevant to the subject matter and conclusions drawn in this paper.

Watson (1942) says that 'In most cases it is desirable to try *some* form of treatment at home before committing a young offender to an approved school. . . . Undoubtedly it sometimes happens that an immediate removal from home is called for and that all the circumstances indicate the need for long-term institutional training, notwithstanding the fact that it is the child's first appearance before a court. There are also cases where the offence is itself so grave as to demand drastic action by way of example; magistrates cannot afford to ignore the dangerous effect which may be produced in their district if it is taken for granted that it is their policy always to give a "chance" to the boy or girl who has been caught for the first time.'

Burt (1952) quotes inferences drawn from statistical analyses of numerous after-histories, recently published in America—namely that, 'except for pathological cases, success seems most frequently achieved when a young delinquent is regarded, not merely as a patient in need of psychotherapy or a pupil in need of intellectual instruction, but a growing individual whose character needs to be trained or re-formed'.

The Association of Children's Officers in a pamphlet, 'Cruelty to Children' (1953), say that 'The removal of a child from his home is a dangerous and costly expedient which should only be resorted to after all other means of ameliorating his hardships have failed. The courts should insist upon the most exhaustive enquiries before removing a child from his parents.' Although this pamphlet deals with children who have been ill-treated, it is not without relevance to our present subject in its insistence that even an unsatisfactory home may be better than a place that is not home.

Holman (1953) made a comparison of 100 children who had been 'ascertained' as in need of special educational treatment as maladjusted pupils and 100 others who had been referred to a child guidance clinic. The comparison showed the predominance in the ascertained group of such elements as abnormal sexual behaviour (although the total number under this head was small), 'primary aggression', and 'secondary aggression', in which she includes destructiveness, stealing, truanting and encopresis. On the other hand, 'habit disorders', hysterical symptoms, depressive symptoms and anxiety symptoms predominated in the control group. It is interesting that in her ascertained group the mean I.Q. was 104 and in the control group 105.7. Another important finding was that in the ascertained group only twelve families were judged to have a good attitude towards the child, while in thirty-two of the homes the child experienced actual cruelty, but only three children in the control group experienced cruelty.

Howells and Layng (1955), in a study of separation experiences in relation to mental health, come to the conclusion 'That mental ill-health in the child in most cases springs from emotional deprivation while at home with the parents. . . . The child's state of mind may be helped by any measures which improve the parental state.' Their paper deals with a much younger group of children than the present series.

Whiles (1955) has studied a group of maladjusted children in hostels. Here again, he is not dealing usually with persons who have been before the court, yet heed may be paid in delinquency cases to his forthright comment that 'No child was admitted to a hostel who could possibly be helped in any other way.' As originally pointed out by *Healy and Bronner* (1929) and emphasized by *Bowlby* (1951), removal from home, for whatever reason, should be regarded as a last resort. The hostels with which he was concerned took boys up to school-leaving age. At the end of the article he discusses the positive aims of residential treatment and the way in which social and family relations can be improved as a result of residential treatment.

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DELINQUENT ACTS AS PERVERSIONS AND FETICHES

By MELITTA SCHMIDEBERG (NEW YORK)

The hypothesis I wish to put forward here is that most acts of pathological delinquency can be classed wholly or partly as perversions or fetiches. Naturally they are more easily identifiable as such, when by the nature of the acts themselves and their similarity to the abnormal sexual acts of the non-delinquent they can be classified as sexual offences. Thus we frequently hear of sexual offenders who molest small children of a certain age, type and dress; say, seven-year-old blonde girls wearing rayon frocks. Exhibitionists, too, exert a high degree of perverse selectivity in the manner, place and object of their activities. And the same applies to more serious sexual offences such as rape and sadistic assault.

Freud's early views on the nature of perversions, like all pioneer discoveries, must be re-examined in the light of current findings; and, if we attempt to bring delinquent acts into the framework of perversions, they require to be modified. For example, his widely quoted statement that 'neuroses are, so to speak, the negative of perversions' must be clarified. This idea seemingly runs counter to the fact that sexual and other types of offenders clearly reveal in analysis many neurotic features, marked ego defences and conflicts of a type that prevent our thinking of perversions as arising solely from unmodified id impulses. Gillespie¹ offers us a convincing explanation of this apparent contradiction by pointing out that Freud later went a step beyond his earlier views when he regarded the 'ego as deeply involved in the process of perversion formation'. Gillespie relates the process to the splitting of the ego, 'which is to be found not only in other perversions but in neuroses and psychoses as well'.

Here we have a theoretical basis for the fact that perversions can exist side by side with neurotic constructions. Nevertheless we are prevented from connecting delinquency with perversions by another of Freud's views which he propounded in discussing 'looking' and 'touching': 'the desire

¹ Gillespie, W. H. : 'Notes on the Analysis of Sexual Perversions', *The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, Vol. XXXIII, 1952, Pt. IV, p. 397.

for looking becomes a perversion (*a*) when it is exclusively limited to the genitals; (*b*) when it becomes connected with the overcoming of loathing (voyeurs and onlookers at the functions of excretion): and (*c*) when instead of preparing for the normal sexual aim it suppresses it'.

It is not clear whether Freud considered these three points as essential conditions of every perversion, or believed that any combination of them could equally serve as a criterion. In relating them to delinquent acts, aside from those purely sexual, we find considerable disagreement. A great many delinquent acts are not limited to the genitals, nor are they always connected with the overcoming of loathing (unless we equate moral and ethical feelings with shame). And as far as the third condition is concerned we find in the analysis of exhibitionists that the perversity lies in the action, in certain misguided conceptions of cause and effect, which may be to accomplish a normal sexual aim, viz., intercourse with the observer. Many exhibitionists reveal after considerable analytic exploration that they hoped by displaying their genitals to impress the observer so much that she would invite sexual relations. Another striking example of this was revealed by a rapist, who after forcing a married woman to submit to him sexually, later contacted her by telephone, ostensibly to apologize, but actually because he fully expected the woman had been so gratified with his potency that she would seek further relations with him on a more normal plane.

As Freud rightly maintained, our understanding can be enhanced by contrasting neuroses with perversions, but the comparison must be made on the level of symptoms rather than in the underlying layers. Both neurotic and perverse symptoms have to a great extent a similar etiology. For a time the same psychic road is travelled until a point is reached where the road branches in different directions. The results are symptoms of two kinds—autoplastic and alloplastic. The neurotic reaction or symptom is autoplastic while the perverse is alloplastic. Thus neuroses are not so much the negative of perversions as a different symptomatic expression. In a certain sense the neurotic symptom is of a more social kind, while the perverse is more antisocial. In this way there is a rather direct connection between sexual perversions and delinquent behaviour, which is by definition antisocial.

Ordinary perversions are usually clearly defined repetitive acts, which vary little in context and pattern. In the fetiches this is very marked, the fixation being on such objects as shoes, clothing or products like tobacco, etc. With perversions the conditioning is not to a fixed object but generally to an activity which, however, like the fetiches, shows a clearly marked and rigid pattern. Most delinquent or criminal acts show the same rigidity of pattern. This can be illustrated by some cases I have treated. Lenny, a

schizoid youth of 15, was referred to me for treatment after his release from a reformatory. He had been arrested ten times since the age of seven, the charge always being stealing women's underclothing. First he stole such items as panties from five- and ten-cent stores and from clothes lines; but he got more skilful as he grew older. He stole new merchandise by the boxful, and when he was arrested the police found his room filled with boxes of women's underclothing, which he stole and sold for a living. A habitual pickpocket once boasted to me that he could tell a money-carrying victim merely by looking at him, but when queried more closely revealed that he invariably victimized slim, timid-looking men, of rather feminine appearance. And a hold-up man disclosed that he only held up liquor stores, an activity which he rationalized by saying that there was always money in a liquor store because people would rather buy liquor than food. It is not surprising that in the course of treatment we discovered that one of the most disturbing problems in his home as a young child was his father's drinking.

The crime indices or *modus operandi* files of the police departments throughout the world (some of these files going back a hundred years) are, according to my theory, essentially indices of the fetiches or perversions of the different known criminals. If a specific type of crime, involving a specific object, and perpetrated in a characteristic fashion, is committed, often the first place the police look is in their crime index. The Los Angeles police, among others, have perfected a modern electronic machine which can locate individual criminals with their patterns of perversion in a matter of minutes. Many crimes have been solved in this way. Thus we find empiric wisdom pointing the way to scientists, much the same way that the master playwrights of ancient times intuitively set the patterns for modern scientific psycho-analysis.

Perversions, then, cannot rightly be limited to activities relating to the genitals or directly connected with sexuality, although as we probe deeper into the psychic layers we will almost inevitably encounter such connections. But therapeutically, unless we have some grasp of the structural manifestations, we shall have difficulty coping with them. Structurally perversions are similar to acting out in analysis. As in acting out, we have the surface manifestation and the underlying dynamics. The surface manifestations are usually ego involved, with a full consciousness of the activity, together with a complete amnesia for past or early events that gave birth to such activities. But tracing these blotted-out memories in analysis, as a matter of fact, is often much simpler than with the more vague and ill-defined traumatic incidents of neurotics. Despite distortions and vicissitudes the area of involvement can be identified from the activity. Thus it would seem that perversions are easier to treat than neuroses.

And in the milder cases sometimes they are. Sometimes even short analysis proves fruitful. With certain exhibitionist and mildly antisocial shoplifters I have found that such is the case. Alex, a young man sent to me by the courts for exposing himself before a group of young girls in a park, was amenable to such short analysis. Alex was 27 and married two years. He was rather short in stature, which was of some significance in the treatment because his wife was a big woman nearly a head taller than he and about one and a half times his weight. He exposed himself shortly after learning his wife was pregnant.

Alex had no previous history of antisocial behaviour. If anything he was a mild and weak man, overconscientious and submissive. He was thoroughly shocked by his arrest and, as he remarked during the initial interview, it had been unthinkable for him to break the law. At first he denied any intention to expose himself. He said he had had an uncontrollable urge to urinate and for this purpose had entered a dense area of bushes in the park. He claimed to have heard voices coming towards him, and in his astonishment turned and accidentally exposed himself. His story, however, was contradicted by the young ladies involved. They reported that he had stood before them with an erection and made some obscene masturbatory gestures. In the second interview, Alex admitted that the girls' version was the correct one, although he was so mortified that it was hard for him to confess it. He shook his head as he said he could not understand how he could have done such a thing.

Alex's marital life had been a burden to him. His wife, because of her size and stronger personality, ruled the family. She contemptuously exposed his weakness at every hand and was on the verge of crushing him. To make matters worse her family up to several months ago had to make substantial financial contributions to keep up his home. While openly expressing joy at the announcement that he was to be a father, the truth was that he was thoroughly frightened by the anticipated event. During the course of treatment, Alex stated that after a month of marriage he had begun to masturbate, even though sexual relations with his wife were adequate both as to frequency and gratification. He could not understand the compulsion, but it was a secret he was dreadfully ashamed of. He also had frequent conscious fantasies of being unfaithful to his wife. These usually accompanied his masturbation.

Alex recalled that the relations between his mother and father were rather similar to those between him and his wife. His mother, he said, was a domineering woman who ruled his father with a rod of iron. But when he was about five or six the relations in his home took a turn for the better, brought about he thought by an event that shook the household, causing

such a row that even he, a small child, knew what it was all about. His mother had come upon his father in a bedroom with a maid who had been temporarily hired to help with the house cleaning. The father was in his undershorts, but claimed that he had gone accidentally into the room without knowing the maid was there. Alex did not know all the details, but for a long time afterwards his mother was intensely jealous, so much so that she moderated her behaviour. Alex himself volunteered with a grin that his father had used the same defence as he had. He did not deny that there was a connection between the present offence and his memory of what happened with his father.

There is no room in this communication to present all the details of his case. Alex readily understood that his offence was representative of an effort to assert himself and end the domination of his wife, just as his father had done with his mother. The indication for a brief analysis in this case was that the patient's personality was not deeply involved in an antisocial pattern. Thus a transference was easily achieved. In view of the patient's financial situation a long analysis was out of the question, and therefore the transference was kept within bounds, permitting an earlier termination. While he retained many of the neurotic features in his personality, his family life was made more liveable and to this day, three years later, he has not repeated his offence.

But usually the course of treatment does not go so easily as that described above. Perversions inherent in antisocial behaviour, like acting out, indicate an activity which involves others. The patient then must not only cope with his unconscious conflicts, like the neurotic, but further must deal with repercussions of his activities. These do not always conform to his unconscious expectations—in other words, are often beyond his control. While Alex, the patient just described, may have wished to gain dominance over his wife by his act, unconsciously identifying himself with his father, had he repeated his act eventually he would have gone to prison. He would further have been subject to the pressure of authority, which in turn would have caused a reaction in him, thus setting up a vicious circle hard to break, and interfering with analytic exploration of his unconscious conflicts.

Such is the situation with the majority of delinquents and antisocial personalities. It is well known how difficult it is to obtain a transference of any strength with antisocial personalities. Sometimes the antisocial patient does develop a certain dependence on the analyst, but this should not be confused with transference. The analyst has very little choice in shaping the therapeutic situation with the antisocial patient, at least in the initial stages of treatment. In delinquent behaviour, even such as is not specifically sexual, he is dealing with a type of perversion which is essentially

an alloplastic symptom, or a tendency outward rather than inward. While there is a direct route from the perversion to the unconscious material, the approach to the perversion is beset with road blocks and detours in the form of involvements in social complications.

The only feasible technique initially is through treatment of the ego. With the object in mind of isolating the perversion and then dealing with it intensively, the analyst must concentrate on making contact and influencing the patient in reality problems before endeavouring to reinforce the transference, which of course always is inherent in the therapeutic relationship. Once some stability in the treatment relationship has been achieved, opportunities will present themselves for analysing the transference, particularly in its negative aspects. Then the real analytic work can begin. The key to the whole treatment lies in the recognition of the theory I have advanced here, viz., that delinquent acts are perversions, which can be approached analytically, but only after adequate and intelligent preparation. Otherwise the treatment of delinquents and antisocial personalities would be aimless, without a beginning and an end, with a never-ending series of retreats and advances, with an interminable dependent relationship, and without an analytic purpose.

A COMPARISON OF CRIMINAL STATISTICS OF ENGLAND AND WALES WITH THOSE OF SCOTLAND

BY T. S. LODGE (LONDON)

The criminal statistics of England and Wales are compiled in London by the Home Office; those of Scotland are compiled quite separately, in Edinburgh, by the Scottish Home Department. A few years ago it was suggested by the Inter-Departmental Committee on Social and Economic Research, an advisory committee under the chairmanship of Dr. North (now Sir George North) that a key should be prepared to enable valid comparisons to be made between the two systems of statistics; accordingly a small working party was set up to do this, comprising members of the Home Office, the Scottish Home Department, and the Central Statistical Office. Their report is now available on application to the Home Office or the Scottish Home Department, and a table using the method of comparison proposed has been published in the Annual Abstract of Statistics.

It is not original to say that valid comparisons between the criminal statistics of different countries can be made only with great difficulty. The comparison between Scotland and England and Wales proved to be no exception. The legal and judicial systems in Scotland are different from those of England and Wales, and where there are similarities in terminology these are as likely as not to be misleading, at any rate from a statistical point of view. Moreover, the statistical methods in use—though fortunately having a basic similarity in many important respects—have developed independently over many years and a detailed knowledge of the differences that have crept in is necessary in order that false comparisons may be avoided. It was in the end possible to approach fairly closely to a valid basis for comparison but, even so, and for countries so closely connected, it was found desirable to advise those who would use the methods suggested to place more reliance on dynamic than on static comparisons; that is, rather to study the respective trends than to base conclusions primarily on differences between apparently corresponding figures for a particular year.

A comparison of two sets of criminal statistics which has rigidity from a legal point of view is almost or quite impossible. Differences in the wording of similar statutes, a different history of decided cases, different systems of prosecution and of courts, may all affect statistics compiled in the two countries on what seem to be similar lines. This is not to mention the more nebulous social differences which, while perhaps affecting to a smaller degree the content of the statistics, may affect just as materially their interpretation as indicators of criminality. The extent, for example, to which prosecutions take place in the less serious cases of juvenile delinquency (even granting that the definition of a juvenile is the same) is likely to depend on the attitude of society to the juvenile court and on the extent to which the police have devised ways other than prosecution of dealing with juveniles; the use, for example, of official cautioning or the appointment of juvenile liaison officers. But it is by no means necessary to go as far from London as Edinburgh in order to find at least some variations of this kind: the interpretation of the criminal statistics of one country alone is itself a worthy occupation for a criminologist, and it would be a matter for argument how far the usual allowances for local differences that have to be made when any set of criminal statistics is being studied would not suffice to cover any differences of this nature between England and Wales and Scotland.

The approach to a basis of comparison was consequently made in a pragmatic way with the object of constructing a reasonable and workable basis which was not expected to be quite accurate. It was intended to produce results which could be applied to the published criminal statistics, but the lists of offences used for initial discussion were the much more detailed lists used by the police in completing their returns; as the last stage the offences were grouped together again as much as was necessary. There are many more offence classifications in England and Wales than in Scotland; the method was therefore adopted of trying to find an offence, or a group of offences, from the England and Wales list that corresponded to each Scottish classification. This was not always possible and some offence classifications had to be grouped together, but this was done only when it was necessary in order to produce what seemed to be a reasonable degree of comparability.

In Scotland a record is kept of all crimes and offences known to the police, but in England and Wales only indictable offences known to the police are recorded. This restricted the use that could be made of these statistics for the purpose of comparison, the more so because it was sometimes necessary to take together both indictable and non-indictable offences from the England and Wales list in order to obtain the equivalent of some group of Scottish crimes. The basis of comparison eventually decided upon

was to use the number of persons found guilty in England and Wales, and to set against this the number of persons against whom a charge was proved, or who forfeited pledges, in Scotland. In the remainder of this article the expressions 'convicted' or 'found guilty' are used for the sake of brevity in relation to either country, but should be interpreted as having the meanings just defined.

A basis was worked out for comparing the methods of disposal used by courts as well as for comparing the numbers disposed of according to the type of offence. The methods of disposal were, generally speaking, comparable, except that persons in Scotland who forfeited their pledges presented some difficulty. It was thought that perhaps the fairest way of dealing with them was to treat them, for the purpose of comparison with England and Wales, as if they had been found guilty and fined.

Offences were divided into four main groups, each containing several offences or offence groups. For this article the fourth of these main groups has been divided into three, and figures have been calculated for the following groups of offences: (1) offences relating to the person; (2) offences relating to property; (3) other serious offences; (4) less serious offences: (a) traffic offences; (b) offences against the intoxicating liquor laws; (c) other less serious offences. For each group figures are given below for 1938 and for the years 1948 to 1954 of the number of persons found guilty in England and Wales, and the number of persons in Scotland against whom a charge was proved or who forfeited their pledges. The figures are also shown divided by the respective populations in the various years in units of 100,000.

Offences relating to the person

	1938	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
<i>Number of persons convicted</i>								
E. and W. .	5,221	9,151	9,403	10,388	10,832	11,176	11,505	11,595
Scotland .	2,274	1,271	1,087	1,102	1,214	1,404	1,408	1,327
<i>Number of persons convicted per 100,000 population</i>								
E. and W. .	13	21	21	24	25	25	26	26
Scotland .	46	24	21	21	24	27	28	26

The numbers in both countries rose from 1949 until 1953, but in Scotland there was a fall in 1954. A comparison of the figures for recent years with

those for 1938 seems at first sight to show a most remarkable difference in trend. In England and Wales the 1938 figure had increased by 60 per cent. in 1948, whereas in Scotland it had been nearly halved. In England and Wales the increase was divided among most of the individual types of offence included in the main group. In Scotland the decrease is wholly accounted for by a reduction in the number of convictions of adult males, at summary courts, of the single offence of assault. It is understood, however, that the high 1938 figure for Scotland includes some offences which would now be recorded as breach of the peace. Steps were taken in 1945 to emphasize that petty assaults should be classified as breach of the peace, and this probably explains to some extent, though it is believed not to explain entirely, the reduction of the number of persons proceeded against for assault from 1349 in 1944 to 795 in 1945 and to as few as 429 by 1948. A reduction of this order is sufficient to account for almost the whole of the difference between the 1938 and 1948 figures for Scotland in the table above, and it would be unsafe to make any deductions as to changes in the number of persons convicted in Scotland of offences relating to the person, as now classified, between these years. In England and Wales, similarly, it cannot be taken as certain that there has been no alteration since before the war in the classification of assaults which might be dealt with either as malicious wounding, an indictable offence, or as common assault, which is normally a non-indictable offence and is included in the group of less serious offences (referred to below) except when dealt with on indictment; in England and Wales any change is likely to have been in the direction of classifying offences more readily as malicious wounding instead of common assault.

The only safe conclusion from the table, therefore, is that the numbers of convictions for offences against the person now appear to bear roughly the same relation to population in England, Wales and in Scotland, and that there are indications to the effect that the proportions were higher in Scotland and lower in England before the war, but that the possibility of variations in methods of recording makes it necessary to be cautious in drawing conclusions from the statistics.

Offences relating to property

In relation to population, Scotland has throughout had substantially more persons convicted of these offences than England and Wales, and in both countries the 1954 figures are not so very much higher than those for 1938. In relation to pre-war figures, the peak reached in Scotland (in 1952) was not as high as the peak (in 1951) in England and Wales, and the subsequent improvement in Scotland has not so far been as marked. Considering how much greater the incidence of these offences is in Scotland, the

resemblance between the two trends is, however, uncommonly close, and suggests that similar influences were at work in both countries to cause the peaks in 1948 and 1951/2, the troughs in the intervening years, and the decrease in 1953 and 1954.

	1938	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
<i>Number of persons convicted</i>								
E. and W. .	85,616	135,102	117,054	118,166	135,613	132,360	115,685	105,437
Scotland .	17,590	21,806	19,176	20,186	22,136	22,667	20,390	19,144
<i>Number of persons convicted per 100,000 population</i>								
E. and W. .	208	311	267	268	310	301	262	238
Scotland .	352	419	368	387	434	443	398	374

An examination of statistics for more detailed offence groupings shows that the number of persons found guilty of housebreaking and allied offences is, in relation to population, over twice as great in Scotland as in England and Wales, whereas the number of persons found guilty of theft and fraud is only some 25 per cent. larger. Malicious damage to property too, as measured by the number of convictions, is well over twice as common in Scotland. The larger ratio of housebreaking convictions to convictions for theft in Scotland may reflect chiefly the position in three or four large towns; in many police districts the ratio is much smaller, though still nearly always greater than in England and Wales.

Other serious offences

	1938	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
<i>Number of persons convicted</i>								
E. and W. .	3,190	2,891	2,932	3,320	4,831	4,427	4,892	4,799
Scotland .	176	397	243	202	526	590	619	625

This group has been put in only for the sake of completeness. It includes mostly persons convicted of offences in a 'residual' group; that is, a set of offences in either country for which no reasonably comparable offences in the other country could be found. In a general survey of this kind there is no purpose in discussing the figures.

Less serious offences—(i) Traffic offences

	1938	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
<i>Number of persons convicted</i>								
E. and W.	474,193	325,211	319,016	356,435	368,005	395,724	371,858	390,418
Scotland	46,155	29,705	30,423	32,004	33,017	33,558	34,410	37,557
<i>Number of persons convicted per 100,000 population</i>								
E. and W.	1,151	748	729	810	841	901	843	882
Scotland	924	571	584	613	648	656	672	733

There is little to be said about traffic offences except to note their large number in both Scotland and in England and Wales and to observe that the number in relation to population is lower in Scotland. It is shown by these statistics that the number of occasions on which a conviction occurs is not yet as high as it was in 1938. So far as England and Wales is concerned, however, a special return of motoring offences that is published each year shows that the number of convictions exceeded in 1954 the previous highest figure, namely that for 1936.

(ii) Offences against the intoxicating liquor laws

	1938	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
<i>Number of persons convicted</i>								
E. and W.	56,797	32,954	36,331	48,128	54,236	54,598	54,742	55,993
Scotland	17,246	7,263	7,902	8,395	9,265	10,133	11,463	11,920
<i>Number of persons convicted per 100,000 population</i>								
E. and W.	138	76	83	109	124	124	124	126
Scotland	345	140	152	161	182	198	224	233

Most of the convictions in this group are for drunkenness; though the group also includes other offences against the liquor laws which, as it happens, increased in England and Wales in 1954 more than sufficiently to cause the increase over 1953 shown in the figures above.

Convictions in this group are much more frequent, in relation to population, in Scotland than in England and Wales. In 1938 they were comparable in number in Scotland with convictions in the offences against property

group; in England (in relation to population) there were then only two persons convicted for every five in Scotland. There was a steep drop during the war followed, in England and Wales, by a steady rise flattening out at a level rather lower than that of 1938. In Scotland the drop was greater and in 1954 the figures remained only two-thirds as high as before the war; they were, however, nearly twice as high as in England and Wales for each unit of population, and they do not show any reliable signs of reaching stability.

(iii) *Other less serious offences*

	1938	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
<i>Number of persons convicted</i>								
E. and W. .	162,465	171,804	165,761	152,213	149,803	154,727	145,759	157,336
Scotland .	46,342	40,618	40,127	40,402	40,258	42,570	45,346	46,113
<i>Number of persons convicted per 100,000 population</i>								
E. and W. .	394	395	379	346	342	352	331	355
Scotland .	928	781	771	774	790	832	886	900

The two marked characteristics of these figures are that the Scottish figures are much the higher in relation to population and that the figures for neither country have varied greatly since 1938.

The Scottish figures for each unit of population are the greater chiefly because of the large number of convictions for breach of the peace and under Police Acts, bye-laws, and regulations. These are relatively some six times as numerous as are convictions for the corresponding offences in England and Wales. Convictions for betting and gaming are also relatively more common in Scotland, and so are certain Vagrancy Acts offences. On the other hand, convictions for prostitution offences, revenue offences, indecent exposure and railway offences are more numerous in England and Wales.

The limited range of variation from year to year in the numbers of prosecutions in this group of offences is of considerable interest, and suggests that only a more or less constant amount of effort can be given to taking proceedings for miscellaneous offences, but that the direction in which the effort is applied varies from one period to another in accordance with social conditions. In Scotland, though prosecutions for breach of the peace and for offences against Police Acts, bye-laws, etc., have continued to take first place by a wide margin, their number has decreased since 1938, along with prosecutions for such misdemeanours as Vagrancy Acts offences,

Shops Acts offences and offences relating to the employment of children; and they have been partly replaced by increased numbers of prosecutions for a mixed set of offences such as betting, railway offences, revenue and wireless offences and offences against the Education Acts. In England and Wales the prosecutions that have decreased in number are for similar types of offence, and also for some odd ones such as Sunday trading. The increases include prosecutions for prostitution offences, railway offences, wireless offences, offences against the Public Health Acts and (as also in Scotland) offences in relation to dogs.

The salient features of the statistics so far considered may perhaps be said to be as follows:

- (i) The larger number of crimes against property, particularly house-breakings, in Scotland than in England and Wales, in relation to population;
- (ii) The decrease in the number of convictions for drunkenness in Scotland since 1938;
- (iii) The greater number, in relation to population, of convictions for miscellaneous less serious offences in Scotland than in England and Wales (particularly breach of the peace and offences against bye-laws, etc.); and the change in the pattern of frequency of convictions for these miscellaneous offences, which is possibly a reflection of full employment among other changed social conditions.

Methods of Disposal. A comparison of methods of disposal should make allowance, at the least, for different kinds of offence, for age and sex, and for the previous criminal records of persons convicted. The last of these factors is not published for either Scotland or for England and Wales in an analysis by method of disposal, and the work involved in allowing for the first two factors would be very considerable. It is therefore possible in this article to make only a superficial comparison of methods of disposal using the figures in the appendix to the comparison paper relating to the year 1952.

As a basis for percentages it is proper to use for England and Wales the number of persons disposed of after a charge has been proved against them; for Scotland the number of persons who forfeited pledges has been added to the corresponding figure. Thus the totals for 1952 come to 752,787 persons for England and Wales and 110,922 persons for Scotland. They were disposed of as follows, in percentages.

	<i>England and Wales</i>	<i>Scotland</i>
Absolute discharge	3.7	1.8
Conditional discharge, recognizances, caution with or without sureties, admonished, 'otherwise disposed of'	5.0	12.0
Probation	4.4	3.3
Fit person and approved school orders	0.6	0.6
Fines and pledges forfeited	81.8	76.4
Imprisonment, corrective training, preventive detention, Borstal training	4.5	5.9
	100.0	100.0

In Scotland, orders of absolute discharge or probation are made in summary cases without conviction or finding of guilt, after a charge has been proved. These two methods of disposal are each used less in Scotland than in England and Wales, and one reason for this may be the existence in Scotland of admonition as a method of disposal (though an admonition may be thought to be no effective substitute for a probation order). If all the discharges, recognizances and admonitions are taken together they account for nearly 14 per cent. of charges proved in Scotland and nearly 9 per cent. in England and Wales. The difference corresponds to a greater use of fines in England and Wales (81.8 per cent. compared with 76.4 per cent.). The use of probation in Scotland has tended to increase in recent years.

Although imprisonment is imposed relatively more frequently in Scotland the prison population is not correspondingly large. About five times as many persons are sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine (including corrective training and preventive detention) in England and Wales as in Scotland, but the prison population of persons so sentenced is about ten times as large in England and Wales (1952 figures). The reason can be seen from the following table of lengths of sentence of persons in prison in 1952; the figures are not exactly comparable and in particular they omit persons sentenced to corrective training and preventive detention. The entirely different distribution of lengths of sentence is very striking, and would be even more pronounced if sentences of corrective training and preventive detention were included. To look at the matter another way, it can be observed from the criminal statistics that the mean length of sentence imposed in Scotland is about three and a half months (the inclusion of corrective training and preventive detention would alter this by less than a week),

while in England and Wales it is nearly eight or nearly nine months according to whether corrective training and preventive detention are excluded or included.

<i>Sentence</i>	<i>Average numbers in custody, 1952</i>			<i>Per cent.</i>
	<i>Scotland: Convicted prisoners</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>England and Wales: persons sentenced to imprisonment</i>	
Less than six months	625	43	2,477	16
Six months and less than three years	613	42	8,202	55
Three years and over	225	15	4,389	29
	1,463	100	15,068	100

In order to obtain some idea of whether it is the treatment of corresponding types of offence that is different in the two countries, or whether the distribution of offences is mainly responsible, the prison sentences imposed in 1954 for housebreaking in Scotland and for the corresponding group of offences in England and Wales have been examined. In Scotland there were about 1,160 sentences of imprisonment, corrective training or preventive detention for this offence, and it can be estimated, from an examination of the sentences imposed, that if the same number of committals for the same periods were made each year they would create and sustain a prison population of about 670 persons. In England and Wales there were, in 1954, about 4,280 persons sentenced to imprisonment, corrective training or preventive detention for breaking offences, and a similar estimate taking into account the lengths of sentence shows that these committals, if continued for a number of years, would produce a population of about 8,500. Remission of sentence is not allowed for in the figures for either country.

This shows that, taking this group of offences alone, the sentences passed in England and Wales are for periods approaching three and a half times as long on the average as those in Scotland. Whether there is anything in the nature of the offences committed or in the character of the offenders to explain this difference is not revealed by this enquiry.

For these offences, however, it is to be noted that the percentage of offenders aged 17 and over who are sent to prison is much the same in both countries (approximately 51 per cent. in Scotland and 48 per cent. in England and Wales) and this, so far as it goes, suggests no great difference in the

material with which the courts have to deal. Probably a more relevant consideration is that in Scotland most of these offences are dealt with by the Summary Courts, while in England and Wales, if the offender is aged 17 or over, he must be tried at a court of assize or quarter sessions. In any case, the difference in the length of sentences of imprisonment constitutes one of the most noticeable points brought out by this brief comparison of the two sets of criminal statistics.

A CLINICAL COMMUNICATION

EPILEPTIFORM ATTACKS PROVOKED BY MUSIC¹

An Unusual Case of Homicide in Somaliland

The Somali believes in the existence of an evil spirit provoked by a performance of music and dance called 'Baloleh'. A person so possessed is known as 'Bar'ada'. In almost every instance this is a man. His name is taken from the colour of his hair, as possessed persons generally colour the hair white, using ash or natural lime.

Anyone possessed of Baloleh may require to have the spirit exorcized at intervals and this is effected in the following manner. At dusk, or soon after, a number of people, led by a leader carrying a whip, begin to sing and dance round the victim. The man becomes wildly excited, lunging out at various members of the circle with anything that may come to hand, though usually care is taken to hide lethal weapons away from him, as serious harm may be done. The performance is kept up until the subject falls exhausted. Sooner or later he 'comes to' and is allowed to go off to his quarters where he sleeps heavily and apparently is normal next morning. Some believe that this ritual originated in the Wajir area of Northern Kenya and a variant called Baahilaawe is practised in the Mijertain and Ogaden Somali regions.

In December, 1953, a young schoolboy, aged fourteen or fifteen years, in the Government boarding school struck another boy on the head with an axe. The injured boy died soon afterwards. The boy was charged with murder. Soon afterwards he was referred to me by the Attorney-General for an opinion as to his sanity: he was under observation for ten days.

The available information was: (1) He was accused of killing another schoolboy. (2) He was said to suffer from fits whenever he heard Baloleh. (3) There was an unverifiable history of abnormality among members of his immediate family. It was alleged that his mother had fits when she heard Baloleh but she had been dead six years. His elder brother was said to have died in Aden after a series of fits. His younger brother was alleged to be mentally defective, requiring constant, close supervision as he was quite incapable of looking after himself.

¹ The author wishes to thank the Director of Medical Services, Somaliland Protectorate, for permission to publish this note.

The boy was a thin, wiry Somali of average build and intelligence in whom no evidence of organic disease was noted. He showed little of the usual Somali facial demonstrativeness and spoke in a monotone which again is unusual in this people. Both in English and Somali he talked quite rationally, giving the impression that he was anxious to please and be thought well of. His schoolmaster's account agreed with this.

After eight days' observation during which he appeared entirely rational I decided to discover whether the performance of Baloleh had any effect on him, taking care that he was not under the influence of drugs and that he did not know my intentions. He placed great faith in an armlet of Koranic script given by his father (who was a Mullah, or holy man) as a means of preventing fits. This was removed from him. While I hid from view but within a few feet behind a door, members of the hospital staff acted. Three women began a staccato chant with clapping of hands and foot-stamping while a man entered the room singing and brandishing a whip. Within a minute there was a loud, dull thud when the patient fell off his bed. He fell so suddenly that no one could reach him in time. The music was immediately stopped.

There was unco-ordinated twitching of all limbs, his teeth were clenched and his upper lip was curled back almost to his nose. The eyes protruded and were fixed, giving the impression of an intense terror-stricken gaze. He gave no sign of recognition when spoken to: there was fine, slight frothing at the mouth. Almost as soon as the clonic twitching had ceased, he relaxed momentarily and then began to struggle violently, so much so that three able-bodied men were needed to control him. After a few minutes it was possible to lift him on to his bed and he began to calm down. He still did not respond to questioning. In a few more minutes he began to look around him: his father's armlet was slipped on to his arm and he was told so. The effect was dramatic and immediate, complete relaxation occurred with apparent return to normal. He answered questions slowly, complained of pain all over the body, felt very, very tired and asked for water to drink. He said he did not know what had happened to him. He was given Soneryl to ensure sleep. There was no incontinence of urine or tongue-biting during the fit.

Next morning, when questioned, he remembered that people had been singing and dancing while he was lying on his bed and that I had come to him with tablets. He denied any knowledge of events between those times and could not explain how he had received abrasions on his legs and elbows.

At his trial I described the nature of the attack and expressed the opinion that he could not be responsible for his actions. I suggested that the condition might be described as Musiogenic Epilepsy though such a diagnosis could not be verified. This view was accepted and he was found to be of unsound mind at the time of the attack. Since then the full trial report has been made available to me and witnesses' statements about other attacks this boy had and about attacks seen in other subjects seem to correspond closely with the seizure seen by me. Their accounts supported the contention that the crime was motiveless.

On the night of the crime the accused and a friend had entered a dormitory where a number of other schoolboys were relaxing. They had been followed by another boy singing Baloleh. The accused had asked him to stop it and the singer left. Then the accused threw away his clothes and fell down while most of

the boys hurriedly scattered to other places. Two of the boys had got under a bed. One of those was the deceased. The other boy noticed the accused pass swaying down the dormitory and return with a light axe. Evidently as he passed their bed the deceased had tried to escape and had been struck on the head. The accused could give little account of what happened from the time he asked the boy singing Baloleh to stop it until the time that he happened to notice boys in another dormitory gathered round a master. When it was explained to him that he had injured another boy he apparently found difficulty in believing it.

A schoolmaster had seen him in a fit once before. He described him as swaying about like a drunk person, sweating, breathing fast and looking abnormal. The boy had fallen down beneath a tree, picked up sand and tried to eat it. When asked what was wrong the boy had said there was nothing wrong and that he had been asleep. This master had seen four other people suffer from fits when they heard Baloleh but could not say why it should have this effect. He explained that Baloleh meant 'madness' and was played for people who had fits when they heard it. He had seen people in fits swaying about, jumping around and falling down. They had lain down for a while and when they got up they were normal.

Somalis are very loath to discuss their private beliefs and customs with Europeans and, so far as I know, no one can definitely explain the significance of the performance or state the criteria necessary to determine when to use it. The diagnosis of Musiogenic Epilepsy was suggested by the history, the fit I saw and the probable family history. However, some features, such as the reaction to the replacement of his father's armlet, are more suggestive of Hysteria. Perhaps the two conditions may have co-existed in this boy.

A. D. Ross, M.B., D.T.M. & H.,
Medical Officer, Somaliland Protectorate.

COMMENT

Phenomena similar to those described by Dr. Ross have been reported for many parts of Africa. In Bantu Africa their occurrence has been noted for tribes ranging from the central and coastal parts of Kenya down through Central Africa, and into the Union. Some West African peoples seem to exhibit parallel forms. Depending on the tribe, sometimes one sex is involved to an almost complete exclusion of the other. Elsewhere both men and women are affected, but in different ways and to differing degrees. Dr. Ross has touched upon a number of the elements which appear in other places, with varying emphases: the belief that certain people are possessed by spirits; the custom of exorcising spirits by means of music and dancing (in which the possessed sometimes takes part); the production in some sufferers of an attack which simulates epilepsy, during which the person may perform acts of which he is incapable at other times. Finally, there is the dependence on specific sorts of objects which on presentation may have the effect of ending the seizure very quickly.

Of particular interest to anthropologists is the fact that among any one people the attacks themselves are highly stylized. So also, the sorts of objects or acts which set off an attack conform to a pattern, as do those which bring relief. Wherever these attacks have been reported, it is evidence that they form a little 'drama' which has meaning for the possessed persons *and* for the spectators. It may be that the frustrated violence which appears to be a regular feature of the

Somali performance is to be understood in this way. As far as I know, actual violence during a seizure is unusual elsewhere. In other recorded instances of this kind of seizure, it is possible to suggest relationships between the particular objects and acts involved, the restriction of its occurrence to a particular category of individual, and the accepted social position of persons in that category. This, and the high proportion of individuals who are affected (as many as 50 per cent. or more of those in the given category) would seem to exclude an approach solely in terms of individual aberration.

An anthropological approach cannot go very far in dealing with the differential susceptibility to attack among individuals *within* the category or group most severely afflicted. Neither can it say much about the circumstances in which a culturally stylized 'hysteria' may co-exist with some organic or functional disorder. These problems lie in the province of medical workers.

GRACE G. HARRIS, Ph.D.

RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

(Continued from Vol. VI, p. 296)

CURRENT RESEARCH. XLVIII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PROBLEM CHECK LIST FOR YOUNG ADULT OFFENDERS IN ENGLAND.

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital, or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* Paul Chernuchin, A.B. (Social Work) University of Michigan, A.M. (Clinical-Abnormal Psychology) The George Washington University, Ph.D. Program (Counseling Psychology) The George Washington University, U.S.A.

(2) *Subject of Research:* The main purpose of this project is to develop an instrument which will facilitate the location and treatment of problems of offenders. This instrument will be in the form of a Problem Check List. The check list will be concerned mainly with problems offenders believe they have. Hence, the main source of items for the check list will be from offenders themselves. Workers and leaders in the field will also be queried. Problems will be organized into problem areas. This instrument will be self-administered and easily scored. It will be applicable to offenders under the various methods of treatment.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?* Under a Fulbright Grant and as a proposed Ph.D. dissertation in Counseling Psychology at the George Washington University under the direction of Dr. Mitchell Dreese. *Supervisors in England:* Dr. Hermann Mannheim, Dr. Hilde T. Himmelweit, The London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London. *Research Worker:* Paul Chernuchin.

(4) *Commenced:* October, 1955. Completion expected: June, 1957.

(5) *Publication:* No results so far published.

CURRENT RESEARCH. XLIX. THE PICTOGRAPHIC RECORD FORM G.

(1) Paul Chernuchin, A.B., A.M., Ph.D. Program, The George Washington University, U.S.A.

(2) The purpose of this project is to determine the effectiveness of the Pictographic Record Form G. The Pictographic Record Form G is a projective technique designed to locate absconders and problem cases under the various

methods of treatment. It utilizes a drawing procedure, is self-administered, requires a minimum of time to take and is easily scored.

(3) The author is at present in England on a Fulbright Grant. Research Worker: Paul Chernuchin.

(4) 1953

(5) Copyright 1953. Publication will await further research.

FOLLOW-UP ENQUIRY ON RESULTS OF RESEARCH SCHEMES

(Continued from Vol. VI, p. 138)

Mr. I. J. Croft's study of juvenile delinquency and the school (Current Research, XVI, Vol. II, p. 46) has been presented as an M.A. thesis (1953) under the title of 'Juvenile Delinquency and the School', and is available in the University of London Library.

A short note on *Mr. H. Cameron's study of juvenile delinquency in Georgetown, British Guiana* (C.R. XXI, Vol. II, pp. 238-9), appeared in the *Brit. J. Delinq.*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 55-6.

Some results of *Mr. M. Ll. Turner's study of the Juvenile Gang in a London area* (C.R. XXII, Vol. II, p. 239) have been reported in a symposium 'Spontaneous Group Problems' (ed. by P. H. K. Kuenstler, University of London Press, 1955).

The follow-up study of Borstal boys made by Dr. H. Mannheim and Mr. L. T. Wilkins (C.R. XXIII, Vol. III, p. 46) has led to the publication of a book 'Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training', Vol. I of 'Studies in the Causes of Delinquency and Treatment of Offenders'. (H.M.S.O. 1955.)

The results of *Mr. G. W. Lynch's enquiry into the extent and causes of criminal dishonesty in industry* (C.R. XXIV, Vol. III, p. 46) have been reported in an M.Sc. thesis, 1954, under the title of 'An estimate of the extent of larceny in industry and the motivations of this phenomenon'. It may be found in the Libraries of the University of London and of the London School of Economics.

Dr. M. Grünhut's survey of the treatment practice of English Juvenile Courts (C.R. XXVIII, Vol. III, p. 124) has been published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford, under the title of 'Juvenile Offenders before the Courts'. This statistical investigation of returns from all police districts in England and Wales shows a number of high-delinquency and low-delinquency areas, the former often having a characteristic social setting and maintaining high-delinquency rates over long periods. An analysis of 700 case histories from five selected districts throws some light on the way in which magistrates react to different forms of delinquency and how differences in treatment practice are reflected in the local crime situation.

Mr. A. G. Rose's history of the Howard League (C.R. XXIX, Vol. IV, p. 29) is not yet completed, but some of the results have appeared in the *Sociological Review* of June 1955, under the title of 'Some Influences on English Penal Reform 1895-1921'.

The *analysis of 500 approved school records* by the Managers and Headmaster of an Approved School (C.R. XXX, Vol. IV, p. 29) has been completed, but is not yet published.

The *survey by Dr. H. Mannheim and Dr. J. Spencer* (with the assistance of Mr. L. T. Wilkins and with Mr. G. W. Lynch as research worker) *of methods of disposals employed in the London Juvenile Courts* with special reference to the use of con-

ditional discharge (C.R. XXXII, Vol. IV, p. 199) has been completed, but not yet published.

Miss Mary Woodward's study of the rôle of low intelligence in delinquency (C.R. XXXIV, Vol. IV, p. 199) has led to the publication of a pamphlet (I.S.T.D. publications, 1955) and to an article in the *Brit. J. Delinq.*, Vol. V, pp. 281-303.

The results of Captain D. N. Gibbs' enquiry into some differentiating characteristics of delinquent and non-delinquent National Servicemen in the British Army (C.R. XXXV, Vol. IV, p. 282) have been reported under the same title in a Ph.D. thesis which is available in the University of London Library, the Library of the Howard League for Penal Reform and the War Office Library. Certain sociological and psychological characteristics were found to differentiate the two groups concerned, and short interview screens were devised from the data for the purpose of predicting potential military delinquency at the recruit level.

Certain preliminary results of the study by Dr. J. C. Spencer and Miss O. Jarvis of the ecological distribution of crime in the City of Bristol (C.R. XXXVI, Vol. IV, p. 282) have appeared in the *Eugenics Review*, Vol. XLVI, No. 1, pp. 35-37, under the title of 'Delinquent Behaviour: Some Unanswered Questions' and in *Case Conference*, July 1954, pp. 5-8, under the title of 'The Planning of a Social Project in Bristol'. It has been found that the distribution of crime and other indices of social disorganization conform only in part to the Shaw-McKay hypothesis, there being an accumulation of social problems in certain new housing estates on the circumference of the city.

Dr. T. P. M. Morris's critical review of research carried out in relation to 'Delinquency areas' (C.R. XXXVII, Vol. IV, p. 282) has been presented as a Ph.D. thesis (1955) under the title of 'The concept of ecology in criminological research: a critical review of past work in Europe and America, together with an ecological study of crime in the County Borough of Croydon in 1952'. This is housed in the Libraries of the University of London and of the London School of Economics.

The I.S.T.D.'s survey of the prevention of juvenile delinquency in Europe (research workers: Mr. W. Litauer and Miss Mary Woodward) which was carried out for the United Nations (C.R. XXXVIII, Vol. V, p. 66) has been published under the title of 'The Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency in Selected European Countries' (United Nations publication, April 1955).

An interim report of Lord Pakenham's critical appraisal of current views of the causes of crime (C.R. XXXIX, Vol. V, p. 67) has been made to the Trustees of the Nuffield Foundation and it is possible that a book will be published on the basis of the material collected.

Dr. T. C. N. Gibbens' study of cruelty to children (C.R. XLII, Vol. V, p. 229) has led to the publication of an article in the *Brit. J. Delinq.*, Vol. VI, pp. 260-277 and to an I.S.T.D. pamphlet (July 1956).

Dr. R. G. Andry's study of the psychological aspects of child-parent relationships as associated with delinquency (C.R. XLIII, Vol. V, p. 304) has been presented as a Ph.D. thesis (1955) under the title of 'A comparative psychological study of parent-child relationships as associated with delinquency'. This is available in the Libraries of the University of London and of the London School of Economics.

MARY WOODWARD.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED FROM INSTITUTIONS FOR DELINQUENT YOUTH IN EUROPE¹

The purpose of visiting (July-September, 1955) European and British institutions for juvenile and young adult offenders was to see whether their staff design appeared to be geared for effective impact on inmates.

Rôle of Chief Contact Officer. Certain English and European institutions had for years the idea that there should be a chief contact officer in the institutional life of an inmate. In the English Borstals and approved schools this person is called the Housemaster. In Germany and Austria he is called the Erzieher (she, the Erzieherin) or Educator and in France and the French part of Switzerland he is called the Educateur (she, the Educatrice). This person is a group leader, a counsellor, a big brother, a father figure, etc., all wrapped up together. The central administration and the director of the institution recognize quite generally that this is the rôle to be played by the housemaster-educateur and expect the persons so employed to play this rôle effectively. The director of the school for delinquent boys at Saint Maurice (France) had a very definite concept of the number of lads an educateur could effectively handle, namely ten. (He also indicated that in his experience the number of girls that an educatrice could effectively handle should be placed at eight, since girls are more difficult to contact and counsel than boys.) In this institution, it should be noted that the educateurs do not live in the houses or cottages with the boys but are with them in the early morning (before work or school), at noon, and at supper until bed time.

There are instances in which the housemaster, the Erzieher, or educateur actually lives in the housing units (but in a separate apartment or room). I was not able to tell whether this added closeness increased the effectiveness of his impact. My impression was that it did not. The point is, however, that even though the housemaster-educateur does not live in the housing unit with his charges, he mingles with them and is with them during their free time (morning, noon, and evening). This, of course, requires long hours, say from 6 until 8 a.m., 11.30 a.m. until 1.30 p.m., 6 until 9.30 p.m., and certainly breaks into the time which such a person could spend with his own family. Consequently, there must be considerable devotion to the job in order to tolerate such a broken day.

The institution for young delinquent lads at Kaiser-Ebersdorf (outside Vienna) has definitely put in writing the kind of person an Erzieher (housemaster or educateur) should be and what is expected of him. He must be an 'idol' and a 'friend'. He must exude optimism and be a flexibly helpful person. There should be no place in his make-up for mistrust, sarcasm, ridicule, and the use of force. I asked the three housemasters at the Scottish Borstal (Stirling, Scotland) from what source they received the concept of their rôle as housemasters. They replied that they got it from reading the Paterson manual.² This is practically tantamount

¹ This report was made possible by a travel grant from The Vincent Astor Foundation, New York City, New York.

² Paterson was the great leader in the English prison system and did much to establish the Borstal system and to design its staff and programme arrangements.

to saying that the concept of the job was obtained from tradition, which is certainly a reinforcement of the usual interpretation of the job to be done as given by the governor or director of an institution. At any rate, it seems highly important to me that the director of an institution, the flanking staff members, and the housemasters or éducateurs themselves have a commonly shared idea of what the chief contact officer's job is now and how it is to be performed. I believe that this is important for effective impact.

Another highly important thing to me was that these housemaster-éducateurs are probably effective because they know the rôle they are to play rather than because of higher or professional education. I did not find any housemaster or éducateur who had a university degree, although a minority had attended a professional school (education or social work). Yet these persons are educated sufficiently to command respect from the lads in the institutions. They are knowledgeable persons. They have good insight into the problems of youth and have certain arts of leadership and counselling. There is also the distinct possibility that the directors of the institutions with the housemaster-éducateur design have a way of selecting persons for housemaster-éducateur who have the knack for playing the rôle required.

The Director in Leader Rôle. In several of the institutions, it seemed to me that the director is cast in the rôle of leader or actually plays that rôle for his staff and the inmates. It almost seemed as if he has 'halo' value in their eyes. He is the person to whom everyone looks up. He is the personification of the spirit of the institution. In many instances, the director created the programme as it is to-day or was responsible for creating the institution. He seems to exude confidence, good humour, and emotional support for staff and inmates alike. He displays a certain faith that within the confines of his institution people are going to improve and are going to master themselves. Here we have a very intangible thing which is sensed. But one can see the leader going among his people constantly, being close to them, and always 'there' for them. I am aware that this sort of personalized leadership is aided tremendously by the smallness of size of the many institutions I visited. Smallness helps closeness, although largeness does not preclude leadership.

The leadership of the director was particularly evident to me in the Scottish Borstal at Cornton Vale, Scotland; Lövsta, Sweden; Herstedvester, Denmark; the school for delinquent girls at Brecourt, France; the school for delinquent boys at Saint Maurice, France. However, this leadership was general and social in Cornton Vale, Brecourt, and Saint Maurice. And I know it was this way in the two institutions I was unable to visit in Switzerland. At Lövsta and Herstedvester the leadership was not only general and social but it was also treatment oriented leadership, definitely designed by competent directors (psychiatrists) who saw their rôle in terms of diffusion of treatment ideas and insights downward through the professional and custodial staff. And they saw that their concepts and understandings had to be strained through the contacts of the staff below them, if treatment was to reach the inmate. The institution at Niederschoenfeld (Bavaria) had an excellent director (psychologist), quite capable of diffusing a treatment orientation downward to staff, but the general allocation of young prisoners to, the procedures in, and the organization of the institution enable him to exert only a limited treatment impact upon his staff and inmates.

The diffusion of the spirit, philosophy, concepts, personal influence of the director throughout the entire institution, therefore, has definite impact on staff and inmates. In an institution for fairly normal or situational cases of delinquents, the permeation of leadership of the director probably brings about undesigned changes in attitudes and approach to life in individual inmates who identify with the director; look upon him as a father figure, as God, as the great man in their life; and who use the director as a model for conduct. In such instances, the leader knows that he is having impact, but it is general, social, and diffuse. This is not a treatment concept—it is merely influencing people for the better.

At Lövsta, to which emotionally disturbed delinquent boys are sent, and at Herstedvester, to which abnormal offenders are sent, the general, social kind of leadership is present but along with this is a definite diffusion of a treatment concept—a more designed approach to the psychological problems of inmates. Perhaps at an institution for fairly normal delinquent boys, all one needs from the top is a social leadership, while at an institution for disturbed persons, we need both a social leadership as well as a diffusion of treatment insights.

United Front of the Staff. A detectable leadership and a recognition of the rôle of the housemaster-educateur among staff and inmates certainly help to produce a united front of staff to inmate, in which the administration is not trying to put across policies which are not to the liking of the professional staff, in which custodial staff are not undercutting the professional staff, in which the professional staff are not undermining one another in competition for the souls of inmates. A united front seems to me to be of great importance for constructive impact of institution on inmate. One particular device or practice I noted at several institutions was the holding of daily staff conferences, at which problems arising since the last meeting are discussed and a united approach or a commonly shared decision is developed. Daily staff conferences are very definitely in operation at Lövsta, Herstedvester, Brecourt, and Saint Maurice. Periodic staff conferences are also held, usually weekly, at Söbysogaard (Denmark), Niederschoenfeld (Bavaria), Kaiser Ebersdorf (Vienna). Usually the periodic staff conferences are case conferences, in which the progress of certain inmates is reviewed. At daily staff conferences there may be certain case reviews, but there may also be a discussion of daily problems of inmates or daily problems of administration.

As an aid to daily conferences, I found that staff members in two institutions were required, as part of their job, to keep a daily journal of what went on during the previous twenty-four hour period. The daily journal is the means by which the 'psychiatrist of the day' at Herstedvester gathers at 10 a.m. each day the points for discussion at the daily staff conference at 11 a.m. In the very small children's institution in Vienna, the Polizei Heim, I found also that the attendants were required to keep a daily journal and report on the happenings at their daily staff conferences.

Simple Design of Staff. One is easily impressed with the effectiveness of a simple staff design in conjunction with smallness of size (population) of the institutions I visited in England and Europe. The institution for about seventy-five disturbed boys at Lövsta, although it is for emotionally disturbed boys, seemed to have great impact with just one psychiatrist as director and a rather simple design of staff under him. In America I have seen institutions of such size with extremely complicated staffs. Even at the Duncroft institution at Staines,

England, for twenty-four highly disturbed delinquent girls, the staff design is very simple indeed: a half-time psychiatrist, a physician on call, a superintendent, an assistant in charge of recreation, a social worker, a half-time educational psychologist, one teacher, and three vocational instructresses. (The so-called psychiatric social worker here was not functioning as a psychiatric social worker in the American sense; she was merely an outside contact worker. This is the reason I have just called her a social worker.) I was quite impressed with the simplicity of staff design at the girls' institution at Breccourt, France. This seemed to be very inexpensive, according to American ideas, and yet very effective. The staff design at Cornton Vale is unusually simple and minimal for thirty-four lads, screened for a completely open facility. Even the relatively large (200 population) institutions at Niederschoenfeld, Kaiser-Ebersdorf, and Saint Maurice have a very simple staff structure.

Economy in Operating Costs and Buildings. I did not have time to collect adequate data on *per capita* costs of operation of the various institutions. But my impression is that, relative to American values and economy, the Europeans and the English do so much with so little. One also becomes impressed with the practicality of converting old buildings, which originally were built for other purposes, into effective use for a small institution: an old manor house, an old private girls' school, an old cloister, an old hunting lodge, etc. I saw practically no building which was built for the purpose (except as protocol insisted that I visit certain prisons which were originally erected as such). I did see one newly designed institution for young adult offenders at Roxtuna, Sweden. All the other youth institutions in Europe were conversions, with additions to and improvements of the original buildings. While new buildings, built along modern functional lines to expedite a particular programme, are certainly an asset, one is very definitely confirmed in the idea that it is not the buildings which are of greatest importance in institutional treatment but rather the leadership and staff.

Smallness as an Asset. Likewise, one also receives the distinct impression that while smallness of size (inmate population) is not a prerequisite for institutions designed to have constructive effect on inmates, yet it is certainly a great aid to effective operation of a programme and simple design of staff which can reach the inmate. Small institutions can be simply staffed and simply operated. The fact that so many small institutions for youthful offenders in Great Britain and Europe have existed for a generation or more must mean that they are administratively desirable. The girls' institution at Espergaerde, Denmark, takes care of 17 girls; the one at Broby, Sweden, 20-24 girls; the one at Staines, England, 24; the one at Breccourt, France, 120 girls. The Scottish Borstal at Cornton Vale houses 34 lads. The newly built institution for young adult offenders at Roxtuna, Sweden, was designed for a capacity of 65 young men. There are several institutions which have an inmate population between 60 and 80. The governor of H.M. Borstal Institution, North Sea Camp, England, stated that he believes 60 is the feasible size for his kind of institution. A population over this size, he thinks, fosters the development of anti-authority groups within the inmate society. If living units within the institution can be kept down to about 10 to 14, with a resourceful housemaster-educateur in charge as counsellor, it looks as if even an institution as large as 250 inmates (boys or youths) is not unmanageable, provided that the proportion of difficult and disturbed cases can be controlled by an allocation policy.

Conclusion. It would certainly be worthwhile for the respective states of the United States to think in terms of small institutions, reconverted buildings, simple staff design, a superintendent-leader, a chief contact officer, and daily staff conferences as possible devices for reducing *per capita* costs and increasing effective impact. The small private institutions in America could also learn many lessons of economy, simplicity, and devotion from their European and British cousins.

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INDETERMINATE SENTENCE AND PAROLE

Two very important United Nations publications³ have been written as a result of a decision of the Social Commission taken in December 1949 and approved by the Social and Economic Council in February 1950. M. Marc Ancel, now Counsellor at the French 'Cour de Cassation', has studied the Indeterminate Sentence, while the problem of Parole and After Care was analysed by Dr. G. Th. Kempe, Professor at Utrecht University. These studies constitute two aspects of a more general problem, the determination of the period of deprivation of liberty effectively served by a delinquent after his sentence, and the measures taken at the end of imprisonment in order to ensure the readjustment of the prisoner to normal life.

The expression 'indeterminate sentence' was created by Brockway, at the Cincinnati Congress of the American Prison Association, in 1870. It was linked with the introduction of educational methods in institutions for adolescent delinquents. Education is an individual process and its result cannot be foreseen with precision. The length of the sentence should therefore be left at least partly indeterminate, to be fixed later on according to the effect produced. As Jimenez de Asua puts it, the indeterminate sentence is a 'penalty determined *a posteriori*'. The indeterminate character of the sentence may be obtained through two different methods; first, by extending periodically the length of the penalty, 'as long as the person detained constitutes a danger to society' (see 'The Indeterminate Sentence', p. 35). This method is applied since 1938 in some States of North America for the detention of psychopathic sexual offenders (see p. 23) and in Belgium since 1930, for the detention of mentally abnormal criminals (p. 25). Those two countries do not show any tendency towards authoritarian regimes and it seems therefore somewhat exaggerated to associate this method with these political regimes and to conclude promptly that 'this attitude . . . is no longer the generally accepted approach' (p. 35). The other aspect of the indeterminate sentence is 'the reduction of the penalty through the offender's own efforts to improve' (p. 35). In this case, the maximum period of detention is fixed from the beginning by the Court and the man under sentence has to earn a conditional release by his good conduct. In both cases, the original decision must be periodically re-examined: the offender subjected to an indeterminate sentence has an absolute guarantee of a periodical review of his dangerousness, that is to say, an estimate of the progress achieved in his resocialization treatment (p. 53). The basis of such sentencing methods is that we are submitting the

³ 'The Indeterminate Sentence' 'Parole and After Care.' (United Nations: Department of Social Affairs. New York, 1954. ST/SOA/SD2, ST/SOA/SD4).

prisoner to a regime of re-education, and also that we are able to test the effect of those treatments and to determine with a certain degree of accuracy the result obtained in a given case. If this is true, society will be well protected by this method.

But there is another side to this question, which has been emphasized lately in some countries, and especially in Great Britain. The mental condition of a prisoner is deeply affected by the indeterminate character of the sentence. According to no less authority than Sir Lionel Fox himself, the indeterminateness of the penalty appears to create an element of unrest and discouragement for the offender, while when a man gets a sentence of three years' corrective training, he knows from the start that he can get out in two years if he does not play the fool (see p. 57 and L. Fox, 'The English Prison and Borstal Systems,' 1952, p. 306). Here we are confronted with one of the crucial choices in modern penology: on one side, the belief in a suitable prison treatment the result of which cannot be foreseen in advance, but may be tested periodically with, as a result, the liberation of the offender when he is deemed fit for freedom. At the other extreme, there is the position of those who consider the penalty as a preconceived treatment, administered to the offender in a definite form. It may be used to re-educate the criminal, to teach him a trade or to learn him habits of industry, but the main thing is that, from the beginning of the sentence, he knows how long he will have to stay in the institution, unless he misbehaves. The choice between the two attitudes is hard to make. The first one is inspired by the modern criminological theories of social defence. It implies that we are able to appraise a man's future conduct and to decide accordingly when he may be released. The second attitude is based on a less ambitious view of the treatment of criminals: the length of the sentence is a guess which should be made by the Court, taking into account every information available on the case, and it should then be served within the limits of this decision. It is clear that this second view leaves little or no space for the indeterminate sentence.

Dr. Kempe's study on 'Parole and After Care' may in a way be considered as the continuation of the book on the indeterminate sentence. More and more often the prison sentence is not terminated abruptly. The prisoner may be released before the end of his term, but his liberation is submitted to certain conditions and he is placed under supervision. Several justifications have been put forward for using this method: it is sometimes considered as a favour, but more recently it is being described as a method of penal treatment—either as a social defence measure, by placing the liberated prisoner under supervision, or as a kind of transition between imprisonment and free life (see 'Parole and After Care,' pp. 1-2). In fact, those three justifications are not separated. They are more or less combined in a general justification of conditional release. The conditions imposed on the liberated offender are generally of a negative character: not to commit a new offence, not to associate with bad companions, not to change his address without permission, not to drink liquor, etc. . . . (see pp. 1 and 76). Sometimes the parolee is compelled to work—a rather simplified obligation of good behaviour, which the man is not always able to abide to.

It is striking, especially in the European countries, to note how often these conditions imposed on parolees are limited to those few rules of good conduct. This may be explained by the fact that the first laws governing parole have been

passed during the second half of the nineteenth century, before the development of social case work in Europe. If we compare these crude prohibitions with the recommendations and the directions given to the probationers in the best criminal courts, we may realize the gap existing between those two methods of treatment which are essentially similar in their aims.

In his discussion on whose authority the decision to liberate conditionally should be made, Dr. Kempe stresses the attitude of the prison staff which takes 'an unduly cautious, negative or punitive point of view' (p. 6; see also p. 11). I cannot agree with this assertion. In my personal experience, I have very often found that the prison personnel was more prone to leniency than the prosecuting officer. The staff's opinion may not always be impartial, but it is generally not on the side of severity.

A large part of the book (pp. 16-75) is devoted to a description of parole and after-care in selected countries. In his general conclusions (pp. 83-85), Dr. Kempe asks for 'intensive public informational programmes pointing out the usefulness, necessity and righteousness of parole and after-care.' I agree with the necessity of awakening public interest to the problem of the rehabilitation of criminals, but I wonder if it would be wise to start this information with its last and most delicate chapter, the readjustment of the prisoner in the community. Public opinion should first be acquainted with the main features of the causes of crimes, the treatment of criminals and the responsibility of society towards them. On the other hand, I fully agree with Dr. Kempe's final recommendation when he requests 'more co-operation in the field of parole and after-care practice with scientific criminology, penology and mental health.'

These two studies give useful material on those two important and deeply connected topics.

Counsellor Ancel has analysed very clearly the evolution of the indeterminate sentence since the time of its inception. With Dr. Kempe we see how the prison term ends in a kind of transitory regime, testing the prisoner's ability to live under normal conditions.

The practice of parole is more than a mere transition from imprisonment to free life. It shows once again that deprivation of liberty is not considered any more as the only method for treating criminals. The indeterminate sentence also represented, among other things, an effort to fit the treatment to the criminal, to realize what Saleilles called the 'individualization' of the penalty. But modern penology has gone further. New methods are being devised. Probation, open institutions, semi-liberty, etc. . . . are making the treatment of offenders more diversified. Changes may be brought to the court's original decision, when an offender first placed on probation is then sent to prison, and may be transferred from a camp to a closed institution and *vice-versa*. The sentence has become even more indeterminate, but it is not only a problem of length of sentence. We are gradually coming to a much more complicated penal system, where the offender may be submitted to various regimes. This form of indetermination raises many problems, in order to avoid excesses or arbitrary decisions. They should be studied in a further volume, which would form a second part to Counsellor Marc Ancel's clear and systematic study.

PAUL CORNIL.

REVIEWS

AGAINST THE LAW. By Peter Wildeblood. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1955. Pp. 189. 16s.)

Recently there have appeared a number of books dealing with homosexuality. This is the first to be written by a homosexual under his own name. What Mr. Wildeblood tells us of his early life is not without clinical interest, what is so moving about this account is the plea he makes for social tolerance and the hope that the account of his own life may be of value in reducing the unhappiness of other men who suffer at the hands of society as homosexuals. That homosexuals may be more 'moral' than heterosexual persons is an argument which has angered some persons; the fact remains, however, that society condemns homosexuality far more strongly than adultery or fornication because of the unconscious hostility which homosexuals arouse. The case which Mr. Wildeblood makes out for toleration can really be opposed only by people who cannot form an objective judgment about homosexuality. The argument that an age of consent would be tantamount to condoning this immorality seems to imply that what society regards as sinful ought also to be a criminal offence. Support for the present state of the law ought to extend to agitation for the inclusion of adultery and fornication as criminal offences.

This book is perhaps most disturbing when dealing with police procedures. Until recently most of us have assumed incorruptibility of the British police, but recent events have to some extent shaken our complete confidence. The Robertson trial for example created considerable disquiet, particularly when it became known that the accused had been involved in an irregular occurrence in relation to a prisoner's property some time before. The allegation that the Prosecution forged Lord Montagu's passport does not seem to have been contradicted by anyone in authority. Wildeblood himself was arrested and his house submitted to a ransacking for documentary evidence, without a warrant being produced. But the problem of homosexuality and the law apart, certain events in 1955 have reinforced the implications of Wildeblood's book, namely that police ethics have fallen far short of the standards traditionally associated with this country.

'Against the Law' provides perhaps one of the best accounts of conditions in a large prison. Heckstall Smith was less than fair to Maidstone, Croft-Cooke gives a distorted picture of Wormwood Scrubs. This book is a much more accurate and lively account, its characters are not composites but drawn from real life. The lavatories and the evil-smelling chamber pots are no less real. In spite of the Criminal Justice Act of 1948 there are many features of a large prison out of keeping with the times, and although baths and reasonable sanitation do not necessarily reform wrong-doers, at least they enable an individual to maintain some dignity as a human being. 'Training' too, is still far from the level at which it ought to be if prison is to be a constructive instrument of penal policy rather than a punitive one.

'Against the Law' is a book which ought to be read by every serious student of criminology. Here is a unique opportunity to gain something of the informal atmosphere of the prison and to reflect that Acts of Parliament alone do not bring

about penal reform. Last, but by no means least, it is worth reflecting that, had it not been for Henry Labouchere, Section II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885, which enables consenting homosexual adults to be prosecuted for acts done in private, would not be part of the law of England. Twentieth-century Britain is heir to his bitter intolerance.

T. P. MORRIS.

MR. LYWARD'S ANSWER. By Michael Burn. (London: Hamish Hamilton. 1956. Pp. 288. 21s.)

If there is any reader of this Journal who does not know about Finchden Manor, Mr. G. A. Lyward's 'place' for maladjusted youths, he should certainly read this account of it.

Mr. Burn is a layman writing for laymen. He does not pretend to understand the technicalities of Mr. Lyward's pioneer work, but being sensitive and perceptive he is able to understand something of the human distress that lies behind and around what we vaguely call maladjustment, and something of the human gifts and virtues that are needed in its treatment.

Although he is by profession a journalist, this is no glib 'write-up.' Mr. Burn spent two years on the staff of Finchden Manor so that he could absorb its atmosphere and get to know its people and methods. It is obvious that in the process he acquired a warm affection for the place, its people and its traditions, and a profound respect for Mr. Lyward. If he seems, to those of us who specialise in this field, to display too uncritical an acceptance of his hero's dicta, we can freely forgive him for that because we too have great respect for Mr. Lyward. He has taught *us* a great deal, and we believe his answer is valid for many who are technically delinquent, as well as those more happy boys at Finchden who have escaped that stigma.

DAVID WILLS.

SUICIDE IN LONDON. By Peter Sainsbury. (London: Maudsley Monographs; published for the Institute of Psychiatry by Chapman and Hall. 1955. Pp. 116. 15s.)

The hypothesis the author set himself to test was that differences in the suicide rates would reveal their social differences. He used a combination of sociological and psychiatric methods: (a) correlation of the suicides notified in each borough with indices of the borough's social characteristics derived from data in a recent social survey of London and in the 1931 census; (b) investigations of these associations by examining the case records of all the suicides (409) reported to the coroner for North London during 1936 to 1938. It was found that there was a significant correlation of suicide rates with indices of social disorganization. Suicide tended to increase in the middle class and decrease with poverty. These associations were correlated when the distribution of the suicides in the area surveyed were plotted on a map. A sudden fall in the standard of living increased the suicide rate. Over-crowding showed no relation to it. A significant correlation was found between borough rates for suicide and those for mental disorder.

This is an excellent ecological study which might well serve as a model for similar investigations.

E. STENGEL.

CITIZENS OF TOMORROW. A Study of the Influences Affecting the Upbringing of Young People. (London: Odhams, for the Council of King George's Jubilee Trust. 1955. Pp. 142. 3s.)

The title of this work suggests a broad survey of contemporary British culture and its effect upon the socialization of children, a formidable task indeed. This study in fact attempts to cover the whole of Britain within 150 pages. Four working parties were set up to deal with the periods of school, school leaving and employment, leisure in the post-school period, and the period of conscription. These groups appear to have gathered information rather in the style of a Royal Commission or Departmental Committee, from interested bodies who submitted evidence and memoranda. It does not seem to have occurred, even to the two sociologists among the working party, that such methods were not producing a *study* of social facts, the influences affecting young people, but were merely collecting the opinions of a wide variety of bodies ranging from the British Fur Trades Alliance and the Economic League to the University of Oxford and the War Office. Interspersed are certain factual data which do not appear to have been analysed or interpreted in any particularly interesting way. The prejudices and pre-conceived notions of bodies who submit memoranda to inquiries of this kind must be surely well known. Our society is full of amateur experts upon every subject from the break-up of family life to the evil effects of the cinema and the Teddy suit; while all are entitled to their opinions one must not confuse subjective evaluations with the objective truth. The members of the working parties themselves are scarcely free from social prejudices. But this lack of objectivity goes further; it displays a lamentable ignorance of facts. In the view of the religious groups who gave evidence, there has been a lowering of moral standards based upon religious conviction, and the authors themselves write: 'Many parents do not subscribe to any creed or philosophy of life, and their children are liable to be brought up without positive teaching and example in the practice of ethical behaviour.' None of this is particularly new; what is interesting is that throughout the nineteenth century the same views were put forward. Far too much of this report consists of generalizations of this kind and many suggestions are positively naive, e.g. that 'the best hope for the future lies in an acceptance of the Christian ethic in the broadest sense' (p. 14) or that 'an urgent appeal be made, on the highest possible authority, to the adult members of the community to recognize their personal and individual responsibility for the young people of the nation' (p. 95).

For those who believe that research into the problem of our society can only proceed by carefully designed techniques of scientific inquiry, that social policies ought to rest upon assessment of objective data rather than upon subjective perceptions of problems, this work must be set up as a *memento mori*, a reminder that the prestige of the social sciences is so low, while the efforts of distinguished amateurs enjoy the plaudits of the popular press.

T. P. MORRIS.

CHILD BEHAVIOUR. By Frances L. Ilg, M.D., and Louise Bates Ames, Ph.D. (London: Hamish Hamilton. 1955. Pp. xi + 364. 21s.)

Appreciation of the importance of the child's reaction to the parental handling and attitudes has in recent years governed the manuals of popular child psychology. The present volume addressed to parents is primarily concerned with the develop-

mental aspects of behaviour. The authors have been associated with the studies by Gesell and others at the Child Development Clinic at Yale now being continued at the Gesell Institute of Child Development. In the text minor reference is also made to the work of Piaget. The distinctive theme of the book lies in the observation that children's behaviour in almost every sphere from primary habit formation to the capacity for abstract thought develops in 'remarkably patterned and largely predictable stages.' The authors further see the changing patterns of behaviour as cycles of new achievement, usually a phase of disturbance and a phase of relative stability. A scheme showing those phases from birth to the age of ten—the period covered by the book—is first presented. Thereafter in a section on individuality brief mention is made of Sheldon's types and the valuable point made that children differ from each other and are to be cultivated for what they are rather than rendered into alternative types.

In the second section of the book a wide range of elements of behaviour including primary habits, manifestations of tension and anxiety, relationship to parents, sex behaviour and general interests are taken up in detail and described through the changing phases of development in the first ten years. Throughout the volume mild suggestions are made or implied as to the attitude to be adopted by the parents and, while an attitude of *laissez faire* is deprecated, there is a reassuring quality in the writing the essence of which is familiar in the popular expression 'it's only a phase' or 'he'll grow out of it.' In a final section more definite advice is given on such questions as comics, television, what to say about Santa Claus, death, adoption or impending divorce. The point and topicality of those issues reflect both that one of the authors has run a T.V. half hour and the fact that this is an American publication.

In general, while popularly presented, the material of this book is soundly based. The authors are clearly experienced, sympathetic and appreciative of the needs of children and wise to the anxiety of parents. Where advice is given it is 'sensible.' Inevitably some degree of dogmatism enters into a popular presentation and the description of changing patterns of behaviour is so detailed that it risks establishing unduly rigid norms in the mind of the reader. On the other hand, in the discussion of constitutional types a range of variation that includes both severely hyperactive and autistic children goes beyond the limits of variability within the normal. In spite of these minor qualifications the book is to be recommended not only to parents but to those professionally or otherwise called upon to deal with or advise on the upbringing of children.

KENNETH CAMERON.

THE NURSING COUPLE. By Merell P. Middlemore, M.D. (London: Cassell & Co. 1953. Pp. 190. 7s. 6d.)

As this book is now in its fourth printing, it is appropriate to examine the reasons for its continuing success. Despite advances in the physiology of breast-feeding, and a heightened interest in the merits of free as against rigid feeding routines, it remains relevant to all those concerned with the practice of breast-feeding, because of the author's keen insight into the many mutual interactions between mother and child in this situation, and her eloquent plea for tolerance in the management of it.

From a scientific standpoint the book is both highly stimulating, and inevitably disappointing because of the author's untimely death. The perceptiveness of

Dr. Middlemore's observations of feeding behaviour is evident, and her empirical classification of the types of reactions of infants is therefore very valuable. In searching for the causes of ineffective behaviour, whether 'inert' or 'excited' in form, she examines many possible factors in a balanced way, though perhaps her Kleinian interpretations are somewhat uncritical.

It is because of the author's awareness of the interplay between such broad reaction tendencies as inertness or irritability (cf. Pavlov's 'tendency to excitation' or 'inhibition' in dogs), with an experiential factor such as clumsy handling by a nervous mother, that the lack of clear results on their relative influence is disappointing. However, we must be thankful that Dr. Middlemore was able to carry her work as far as she did, and that the editors ensured that it saw the light of day.

Although this was fifteen years ago, her point of departure still remains to be fully utilized in the study of the relationship of very early patterns of behaviour to subsequent development of the personality.

C. B. HINDLEY.

ON THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF MIND. Selected Papers on Psycho-analysis, Vol. I, by Edward Glover, M.D. (London: Imago Publishing Co., 1956. Pp. 483. 45s.)

The papers collected under this title represent the steady contributions of thirty years of psycho-analytic practice and concentrated thought and, although the addenda are recent and the papers appear scattered throughout the journals, it is a valuable and indeed indispensable addition to the library of every serious student of mental development, whether he be a devotee of psycho-analysis or a critic or a philosophic observer of the changing scene of mental science. Alongside Ernest Jones, Abrahams and Ferenczi and other leaders of psycho-analytic thought Edward Glover stands as a leading pioneer and the development of his thought is very welcome under the present embracing title.

The papers cover a very wide field from the well-known early essays on oral character to clinical issues and metaphysiological problems, and nearly all of them justify the title of the volume. Each paper deserves a critical appraisal in its own right and no short review can do justice to the importance of most of them. Even the addenda will arouse lively interest and discussion. Readers of this journal will look forward to the next volume when the author's papers on delinquency problems will, we hope, be gathered together. This set contains only one essay in this field—the desirability of isolating a functional (psychosomatic) group of delinquent disorders.

A necessary volume for the shelves of every student of psychiatry in its widest sense.

E. M.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN PSYCHO-ANALYSIS: The Significance of Infant Conflict in the Pattern of Adult Behaviour. Essays edited by Melanie Klein, Paula Heimann, and Roger Money-Kyrle. Preface by Ernest Jones. (Tavistock Publications. 1955. Pp. xiii + 534. 38s.)

This collection of essays largely represents a Festschrift in celebration of the seventieth birthday of Melanie Klein. All the contributors are close followers of this outstanding pioneer in child analysis.

All the essays illustrate the fundamental concepts of Klein, namely, the part played by the 'persecutory and depressive positions' of early childhood, the alleged importance of unconscious phantasy in the early months of life, and the development of a very early œdipus complex and primitive super-ego.

These essays deserve closer attention than can be given in a brief review because of the controversial issues raised by the basic assumptions.

If these views have even only a partial truth they throw some light on the complexity of psychosis formation in the psychological sense, and also on that most vexatious problem, the psychopathic personality.

E. M.

THE ANNUAL SURVEY OF PSYCHOANALYSIS 1956. Vol. III. Edited by John Frosch, M.D., *et al.* (New York: International Univ. Press Inc. 1956. Pp. vi + 682. \$10.)

It is impossible in a short notice to do justice to the large number of authors and their contributions which go to make up this volume which celebrates Freud's birth centenary. The Editor's critical introductory chapter is designed to bring forward a vast amassed literature which is classified and analysed in the succeeding sections. The editor himself contributes sections on Ego Psychology and Instinct Studies; Clinical Studies and Dream Studies. Dr. J. A. Arlow deals with the literature of Ego and Instinct Psychology and Psychosomatics. Dr. N. Ross covers Child Psychiatry and the problems of Therapy and Drs. Tarachow and Kruger tackle issues of Applied Psycho-analysis, namely Social Studies, Religion and Art. The Index covers 263 articles published since the 1954 volume was issued. Delinquency is rather meagrely dealt with in twelve scattered references.

Over all, this valuable survey shows how psycho-analysis has advanced since Freud's own long and active life. It shows how the founder had left paths yet to be explored with the signposts which his writings so frequently suggest.

E. M.

A HANDBOOK OF HOSPITAL PSYCHIATRY 1955. By Louis Linn, M.D., Mount Sinai Hospital. (New York: International University Press Inc. 1955. Pp. xxii + 560. \$10.)

This volume is a painstaking story of the treatment programme of an American Psychiatric Hospital and covers individual and group therapy and somatotherapy, occupation therapy and the problems of feeding and general ward administration. The function of the team is discussed, including not only the doctor, nurse and social worker but the attendants, the chaplain and the visiting voluntary workers. Every type of patient has a chapter to himself and herself, including the aged, the pregnant woman, the ex-service man, the criminal and the physically sick. The architect, the lawyer, the general staff are not omitted and the communal relationships are fairly discussed, including such neglected topics as the hostile family, the related civil contacts and the various types of community case methods (e.g. the Sheel colony).

A very useful volume notable not so much for its insights as for its conscientious appreciation of all the factors involved in the psychiatric problem, individual, social and administrative.

E. M.

PERSONALITY CHANGES FOLLOWING FRONTAL LEUCOTOMY. By P. Macdonald Tow, Ph.D., M.B., B.S., M.R.C.S., with a Foreword by Russell Brain, Bt., D.M., P.R.C.P. (London: Oxford University Press. 1955. 35s.)

This research volume opens very wisely with a brief yet adequate historical account of the body-mind problem from Aristotle through Descartes to the great neurologists of the nineteenth century and after. The frontal lobe in its injuries and disease has rarely revealed outspoken functions, and until the work of Goldstein the speculation and observations were vague and inconclusive. The loss of the power of abstraction is the most clearly defined sign of deterioration. Later observers have noted diminished moral qualities, initiative and planfulness. These and many other observations are relevant to any enquiry into the nature of the changes which occur after leucotomy.

This research was carefully planned and happily unpretentious in its range and claims. Pre- and post-operative tests were the nature of the control adopted, and these concern intelligence, tempo, persistence, speed-accuracy, perseveration, fluency, mazes; estimation of work and pleasure attitudes and a circumscribed ink blot test of imagination. Severe statistical checks on significance were used throughout. It is not surprising that the changes were not startling except in fluency tests, abstraction, the maze tests and the ink blot.

This research is thus a prelude to fine-grained enquiries into the functions of the mind that really matter in Man's interpersonal relations where the leucotomized patient usually betrays the losses sustained.

E. M.

ABSTRACTS AND REFERENCES

(Contributed by : W. R. Bett, W. J. Bolt, T. Grygier,
J. E. Hall Williams, and J. P. Martin)

CRIMINOLOGY

F. J. ODGERS: 'Prevention of Juvenile Crime', *The Criminal Law Review*, 1955, 173-175.

A brief description of the Liverpool police scheme for using 'juvenile liaison officers' to combat juvenile crime.

J. E. H. W.

ANON.: 'Liverpool's Juvenile Liaison Officers', *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review*, 26th May, 1956, 120, 328-329.

Comments on the booklet entitled 'The Police and Children' issued by the Chief Constable of Liverpool assessing the results achieved by the use of 'juvenile liaison officers'.

J. E. H. W.

JEAN GRAHAM HALL: 'Prediction Studies', *The Criminal Law Review*, 1955, 604-607.

An account of prediction studies in England and the United States.

J. E. H. W.

JEAN GRAHAM HALL: 'Recidivism', *The Criminal Law Review*, 1955, 686-689.

A description of the proceedings of the Third International Congress on Criminology, held at Bedford College, London, in September 1955.

J. E. H. W.

GORDON ADLAM: 'Juvenile Courts in the Federal Republic of Germany', *The Criminal Law Review*, 1956 (June), 401-405.

This is an eye-witness report of the trial in camera before a special juvenile court in Western Germany of an eighteen-year-old boy charged with exhibitionism. The court procedure is described and some details are given of the range of possible penalties.

J. E. H. W.

REX COWAN and LEW FRANCIS: 'Narcotic Addiction in the United States', *The Criminal Law Review*, 1956 (May), 316-319.

The enormous scale of narcotic addiction in the United States creates special problems of law enforcement, but the resolute and energetic way in which the matter is being handled by the authorities gives cause for hope that eventually the situation may be brought under control. This article contains a brief account of the present situation. The degree of success achieved in the treatment of narcotics users who have been convicted and sent to the special institutions where treatment is available is not very encouraging.

J. E. H. W.

OLA NYQUIST: 'How Sweden Handles Its Juvenile and Youth Offenders', *Federal Probation*, March 1956, 36-42.

A clear and concise description and discussion of the subject.

J. P. M.

R. M. JACKSON: 'The "Criminal Statistics".' *The Magistrate*, 1956, XII, 4, 39-41. An assessment of the value of criminal statistics.

W. J. B.

PENOLOGY

J. LL. J. EDWARDS: 'A New Doctrine of Criminal Punishment', *Law Quarterly Review*, January 1956, 72, 117-122.

Since the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, introduced new methods of prison treatment in the form of corrective training and preventive detention, the Court of Criminal Appeal, as the author of this article observes, has availed itself of several opportunities to elaborate upon the requisite qualifications for such sentences. In the case of corrective training the court has consistently emphasized the necessity for imposing a sentence of sufficient length to give the prison authorities a reasonable opportunity of tackling the problem of the prisoner's rehabilitation. Dr. Edwards notes that underlying this theory of punishment is a recognition of the fact that the period of corrective training imposed should be determined not so much by the seriousness of the instant crime or even of the prisoner's past criminal record, but rather in relation to the time considered necessary to attempt the reform of the prisoner. However, in the recent case of *R. v. McCarthy*, [1955] 1 W.L.R. 856, the Court of Criminal Appeal has enunciated a doctrine which, the writer contends, may well be thought to run counter to the purposes behind this enlightened form of prison sentence. The Court in that case held that three years' corrective training was too long a sentence to have imposed on a man who, although he had all the qualifications for that sentence, in terms of age and previous convictions, etc., had only been guilty of stealing a small quantity of clothing, to wit, a shirt and trousers. The Court seems to have gone on the principle that because eighteen months' imprisonment would have been appropriate in 1948 before the Act, that was the right sentence in this case. Dr. Edwards is concerned lest this policy be extended to cases of preventive detention, although this seems

unlikely in view of the recognition by the Court that such a sentence is exceptional. He is clearly right when he deprecates the dubious principles expounded in *R. v. McCarthy*, and says that 'it is extremely doubtful whether this emphasis on judging the severity of a sentence of corrective training in the light of the latest offence to be committed by the prisoner is in accord either with the intention of the legislature as expressed in the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, or with earlier pronouncements of the Court of Criminal Appeal itself'.
J. E. H. W.

ARTHUR MADDISON: 'Punishment for Murder in Norway', *Justice of the Peace and Local Government Review*, March 10th, 1956, 120, 147-148.

The author describes the experience of Norway since that country abolished capital punishment.
J. E. H. W.

REX COWAN: 'Open Prisons and Borstals', *The Criminal Law Review*, 1955, 169-172.

A brief account based on the Report of the Prison Commissioners for 1953.
J. E. H. W.

REX COWAN: 'Approved Schools for Girls', *The Criminal Law Review*, 1955, 626-629.

A brief factual account of current developments.
J. E. H. W.

REED COZART: 'What Has Happened to "America's Worst Prison"?', *Federal Probation*, December 1955, 32-38.

Describes the work of reforming and rebuilding the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola undertaken after a public scandal following self-mutilation by a group of prisoners. Given public concern and willingness to spend money, the emphasis was on minimum physical security and the arousing of high morale and higher standards among the staff. It is argued that 'personnel are responsible for about 95 per cent of security in prisons'.
J. P. M.

EDWARD J. HENDRICK, *et al.*: 'Probation and Parole Conditions and Violations', *N.P.P.A. Journal*, 1956, 2, 1-96.

The *N.P.P.A. Journal* is a Quarterly which has partly taken the place of *Focus*. This number is the first received and is devoted to 'Probation and Parole Conditions and Violations', with six articles on various aspects of the subject. Written for the professional probation and parole officer, it is clearly written and well produced.
J. P. M.

WILL C. TURNBLADH: '"Revenge is a Kind of Wild Justice"', *N.P.P.A. Journal*, 1956, 2, 97-191.

This number is devoted to the Youthful Offender. Perhaps the most impressive article is that by SOL RUBIN: 'The Sentencing of Youthful Offenders', which discusses the extraordinary severity of American sentencing policy, including that proposed under the American Law Institute's model draft which he terms 'barbarous and vindictive'. He stresses the problem of sex offenders and points out that the proposals relating to rape are likely to result in peculiarly discriminatory enforcement—as already applies in some Southern States where Negroes but not Whites are actually executed for rape.
J. P. M.

SCOVEL RICHARDSON: 'Policies and Procedures of the United States Board of Parole', *Federal Probation*, December 1955, 14-19.

In this article the Chairman of the United States Board of Parole gives an authoritative account of the working of the Board. Some of the policies and procedures have been established only within the last two years. J. P. M.

Judge E. J. YOUNGER: 'Capital Punishment'. *American Bar Association Journal*, 42, 2, p. 113.

Reflects contemporary American opinion on the issue of capital punishment. W. J. B.

'The Graduates of Probation.' *The Bar Bulletin* (New York County Lawyers' Association), 13, 4, p. 164.

Based on a report of a new investigation by J. B. Cooper. W. J. B.

PSYCHIATRY

M. E. GIFFIN: 'Is Juvenile Delinquency a Medical Problem?', *Journal of the American Medical Women's Association*, 1956, 11, 169-172.

It is the duty of the psychiatrist and the physician to uphold the law, and this consideration should take precedence over any desire to seek leniency for the delinquent. Their obligations to society should not prevent them from doing their utmost to resolve the problems of the delinquent, who must be considered not merely as in need of detention and punishment, but as one whose behaviour reflects disturbed family relationships. The causes of delinquency may be trivial or serious, and if they are misunderstood, the consequences, too, may be serious. W. R. B.

EDWARD PODOLSKY: 'Notes on Motiveless Murder', *The International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 1956, 1, 42-45.

It is suggested that the motiveless murder lacks an apparently logical motive, but it is in fact motivated by an urgent need for release from unbearable tensions. T. G.

GEORG K. STURUP: 'The Diagnosis and Treatment of a Pyromaniac', *The International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 1955, 1, 54-59.

A case presentation. Successful treatment in Herstedvester Institution. T. G.

R. L. CHRISTENSEN: 'Character Disorder: the Twentieth Century "Neurosis"', *United States Armed Forces Medical Journal*, (November) 1955, 6, 1597-1604.

The author attempts a definition of character disorder, and makes some suggestions to explain the predominance of the condition in the twentieth century. Attention is drawn to basic similarities between character disorder and psycho-neurosis, and the desirability of more accurate diagnosis of the total personality picture is stressed. W. R. B.

P. GISCARD: 'Dangers du placement des criminels et des délinquants dans les services des hôpitaux psychiatriques', *Annales Médico-Psychologiques*, 1954, 112 ann., t. 1, 553-561. (Discussion.)

J. D. ATCHESON and D. C. WILLIAMS: 'A Study of Juvenile Sex Offenders', *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1954, 111, 366-370.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

Revue Française de Psychanalyse, Vol. XIX, No. 4, 1955.

This number includes a symposium by S. Nacht, S. Lebovici, S. A. Shentoub, R. Held, and M. Bouvet, on the perennial subject—How to terminate a psycho-analytic treatment. Nacht subdivides the issue into those cases where the degree of aggressivity is excessive and those where the technique has been at fault. All lay stress on difficulties arising from intractable transference, and counter transference from the analyst who loses patience and asserts his 'presence' too much or cannot interpret his own conclusions.

R. Bayet discusses a case of constipation and stresses the importance of psychosomatic mechanisms for the psychoses.

Held, in a further article on 'termination', makes some interesting points on the significance of returning patients, cured as well as uncured, who do so to magically reinstate him, or to be sure that guilt has been finally expiated.

B. J. Logre, in 'Freudism and Liberty', discusses in a philosophic vein the antimony of self and law which has its strongest expression in childhood—the omnipotent drive versus excess of discipline as felt. Analysis is not a resolution of the antimony, but a dialectic synthesis of both sides produces true psychic freedom.

E. M.

Revue Française de Psychanalyse, Vol. XX, 1956, No. 1 & 2.

This number is devoted to the report on the Congrès des Psychanalystes de langues Romanes. This covered the important topic of knowledge and is a study of Epistomology seen from the psycho-analytic viewpoint and carries with it a clear-cut philosophical approach. In this sense it relates to ego function but does not exclude the nature of inhibitory processes and the co-ordination of drives for the purpose of reality testing and therefore of survival. The relation to obsessional thinking is also discussed, in particular the need to know which drives have emotional and libidinal implications such as oral incorporation. Apart from Freud's views the contributions of the leading thinkers are analysed, viz.: Hermann, Piaget, Schilder, Ferenczi, Walden, Zilboorg and Glover. The importance of sublimation in contributing to the higher expansion of ego functions is closely scrutinized. This discussion was opened by Gressot.

The second subject was the Nervous Character dealt with by Diatkine and Favreau, and covered clinical material and the genesis of character structure. The number closes with a survey of the problem of Phobias by Jean Mallet. This is a most important number in its extensive coverage of the literature of thirty years and illustrates the advance of psycho-analysis in France and the high quality of the thinking in that country on psychopathology in recent years.

E. M.

MARIE BONAPARTE: 'The Case of Madame Lefebvre', *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, 1955, 1, 148–197.

A case of pathological murder analysed in detail in terms of infantile fixations and unconscious defence mechanisms.

T. G.

PSYCHOPATHOLOGY

CARLOS J. DALMAU: 'Criminal Behaviour as a Pathologic Ego Defense', *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, 1955, 1, 555–563.

Two cases presented as illustrations of a dramatic discharge of destructive

psychic energy in an antisocial act in an effort to avert a psychotic disruption of ego integrity. T. G.

BEN KARPMAN: 'The Emotional and Dream Life of a Criminal Paretic: Toward the Psychodynamics of Organic Conditions', *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, 1955, **1**, 656-711. A case presentation. T. G.

BEN KARPMAN: 'Criminal Psychodynamics: A Platform', *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, 1955, **1**, 2-100.

A comprehensive survey of problems and methods in criminal psychodynamics with special reference to motivation, mental defect, psychoses, neuroses, and psychopathy. Recent trends in law and psychiatry are discussed. Criminality is defined as 'a basic human expression having a long history and evolution and a pathology all its own'. The article also outlines the editorial policy of this new Journal. T. G.

D. BÉDARD and L. BOURGOIN: 'Observation d'un jeune incendiaire (un pseudo-pyromane)', *Laval Médical*, 1955, **20**, 164-174. (Conclusion; 7 references.)

B. KARPMAN, L. KANNER, *et al.*: 'Psychodynamics of Child Delinquency: Further Contributions. Round Table, 1953', *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1955, **25**, 238-282.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

A. D. BUCHMULLER and MARGARET C.-L. GILDEA: 'Group Therapy for Parents of Behaviour Problem Children in Public Schools', *The International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 1955, **1**, 51-56.

The authors have worked for the past seven years in the St. Louis area (U.S.A.) to develop a comprehensive community care for emotionally disturbed children. This included a group therapy programme with parents. Some factors influencing the effectiveness of this form of therapy are analysed, in particular social class, type of district, and racial conflicts. T. G.

MELITTA SCHMIDEBERG: 'Maturation and Integration of the Superego in the Treatment of Delinquents', *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, 1955, **1**, 101-110.

Superego of criminals is regarded as more inconsistent than lacking. Such inconsistencies due to contradictory identifications and to defence mechanisms can be dealt with in psychotherapy. T. G.

JACOB H. CONN: 'Treatment of Symptomatic Psychopathy', *Archives of Criminal Psychodynamics*, 1955, **1**, 111-136.

Several case histories summarized. Karpman's opinion that secondary psychopaths are in fact severe neurotics is supported. T. G.

NEUROPSYCHIATRY

M. A. KENNARD, M. S. RABINOVICH, A. E. SCHWARTZMAN, and W. P. FISTER: 'Factor of Aggression as Related to the Electroencephalogram', *Diseases of the Nervous System*, 1956, **17**, 127-131. (Three tables; 6 graphs; conclusions; 12 references.)

An analysis is presented of the findings in 192 individuals aged 12-30 years, from a mental hospital, a prison colony, and a normal control group, on whom e.e.g.'s and psychological tests were done once or several times during a two-year

period. Hostility or 'acting-out aggression' appears to be positively related to e.e.g. theta activity. Both hostility and e.e.g. theta activity show a positive correlation with a high and, therefore, abnormal score on the Bender-Gestalt test. The low frustration level factor is part of a generalized unstable, fluctuant, and disturbed personality, the e.e.g. pattern of this group being similarly unstable and fluctuant. W. R. B.

V. M. VICTOROFF: 'A Case of Infanticide Related to Psychomotor Automatism: Psychodynamic, Physiological, Forensic, and Sociological Considerations', *Journal of Clinical and Experimental Psychopathology*, 1955, **16**, 191-220.

An eighteen-year-old unmarried woman gave birth to a child, which was later found in a suitcase, with a plastic belt tied around its neck. Post-mortem examination showed that death was due to exsanguination through the untied cord and strangulation by the belt. The mother denied any knowledge of how the belt got around the baby's neck. Electroencephalographs showed bisynchronous, bilateral paroxysmal activity affecting the frontal, temporal, and parietal areas. Spike and peak wave complexes were suggestive of *petit mal* variants. Moderately severe sensitivity to hyperventilation was observed. W. R. B.

J. B. LASTRES: 'Epilepsia y delito (Ensayo de Historia y Medicina Legal', (Conclusión), *Revista de la Sanidad de Policía*, 1955, **15**, 109-124. (Fifty-one references.)

SOCIOLOGY

NORMAN JOHNSTON: 'Sources of Distortion and Deception in Prison Interviewing', *Federal Probation*, March 1956, 43-48.

An analysis, from a sociological point of view, of the problems of the interviewer—whether psychiatrist, psychologist, social worker or research worker—in the prison situation. Problems discussed include prisoners' attitudes to those who co-operate with the authorities, relationships with the staff, the need for the prisoner to have some motivation to get him to tell the truth, the ambiguous role of the professional person in a correctional institution, and the lack of confidentiality even of supposedly confidential records (sometimes in America handled by inmates in clerical jobs). J. P. M.

International Criminal Police Review, 1955, **10**, 3/187-48/232. Special number: The police youth clubs.

L. F. FREED: 'Medico-Sociological Data in the Therapy of Homosexuality', *South African Medical Journal*, 1954, **28**, 1022-1023.

LAW

J. P. EDDY, Q.C.: 'The Law and Homosexuality', *The Criminal Law Review*, 1956 (January), 22-25.

This article by a well-known stipendiary magistrate is an attempt to justify the opposition which he expressed at the annual general meeting of the Magistrates' Association to the Council's recommendation on the subject of homosexual offences, opposition which resulted in the defeat of the proposals by 256 votes to 91. Mr. Eddy deals with the history of the offence of adult male homosexual conduct, and argues that the whole problem should be considered in the light of the fact that a psychiatric institution is being set up by the Prison Commissioners

within the prison system, where treatment may be given in appropriate cases. A pre-requisite for this is that homosexuals shall be still amenable to the law.

J. E. H. W.

SOL RUBIN: 'The Standard Probation and Parole Act: Fifteen Years Later', *Federal Probation*, December 1955, 9-14.

This is a discussion of the differences, particularly in the philosophy of treatment, between the model Acts published by the National Probation and Parole Association in 1940 and 1955. The chief new emphases are on, firstly, 'that treatment in the community is to be preferred to institutional treatment, where it is feasible "without detriment to the community or the prisoner himself"'. Secondly, far more weight is placed on 'individualized treatment based on a case study'. The article goes on to discuss how this change of approach works in relation to probation (condemning for instance the practice of combining probation and imprisonment), to parole, to the establishment of hostels, and to administrative provisions. The committee drawing up the 1955 Act was, however, divided on the value of definite as opposed to indeterminate sentences. Throughout the report is conscious of the difficulty of applying progressive measures in an administrative situation which may not favour them.

J. P. M.

PAUL W. TAPPAN: 'The Young Offender Under the American Law Institute's Model Penal Code', *Federal Probation*, December 1955, 20-24.

JUDGE LUTHER W. YOUNGDAHL: 'Give the Youth Corrections Program a Chance', *Federal Probation*, March 1956, 3-8.

These are two articles on the American Law Institutes Model Penal Code: Professor Tappan supports it and Judge Youngdahl makes a spirited attack on it. At present the Youth Corrections Program allows young adult offenders, roughly of Borstal age, to be committed to the Authority on the basis of an indeterminate sentence (which includes probation). For this procedure the Code proposes to substitute one specifying minimum and maximum *prison* sentences with, it appears, no option of probation for those convicted of a specified list of crimes. Ordinary terms for a Felony Grade 1, for example, range from a minimum of one to ten years to a maximum of life. Less serious offences have shorter terms, but the minimum never falls below one year. Judge Youngdahl stigmatizes the attempt to write minimum sentences into the code as 'punishment to fit the crime at its crudest', and illustrates the value of the Y.C.A. procedure with figures for Minnesota where fairly extensive and successful use has been made of Probation and Parole. Neither article gives sufficient evidence to enable the British reader to make any firm judgment, and, in particular, it is not clear what empirical evidence has induced the American Law Institute to favour a system involving minimum sentences.

J. P. M.

LLOYD WRIGHT: 'The Lawyer's Responsibility in the Administration of Criminal Justice', *Tennessee Law Review*, December, 1955, 24, p. 1.

L. STEWART: 'Criminal Law in the U.S.S.R.', *King's Counsel*, 1956, IX.

I. D. GARNER: 'The Clinical Psychologist as an Expert Witness', *The Marquette Law Review*, 39, 3, p. 239.

W. J. B.

F. H. SLEEPER: 'The Insanity Plea in Criminal Cases in Maine', *Journal of the Maine Medical Association*, 1954, 45, 83-90. (Five tables; 13 references.)

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MELITTA SCHMIDEBERG, M.D.; formerly on the staff of the I.S.T.D. and Psychopathic Clinic, also of the London Clinic of Psycho-Analysis. Now resident in New York, where she is at the same time a practising analyst and founder and Director of the Association for the Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders. Author of 'Children in Need' and numerous papers and monographs on various aspects of psycho-analysis and criminology.

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